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VOL. XII, No. 1.

CHINESE POTTERY IN THE PHILIPPINES

BY

FAY-COOPER COLE

WITH POSTSCRIPT BY

BERTHOLD LAUFER

The Robert F. Cummings Philippine Expedition

GEORGE A. DORSEY
Curator, Department of Anthropology



CHICAGO, U. S. A.

July, 1912.



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In the spring of 1906 Mr. Robert F. Cummings of this city expressed his intention of providing the Field Museum of Natural History with funds to defray the expenses of an extended series of Ethnological investigations in the Philippine Islands.

Working under this liberal endowment the following expeditions have been in the field:

In 1906 Mr. S. C. Simms visited the Igorot of Benguet, Lepanto and Bontoc, and the Ifugao of Nueva Viscaya. During 1907-8 Mr. F. C. Cole worked among the Tinguian, Apayao and Kalinga tribes of Northern Luzon, and the Batak of Palawan.

The late Dr. William Jones reached the Philippines in the fall of 1907 and proceeded to the Ilongot of the Upper Cagayan river, Luzon. After residing a year in that district he was murdered by members of a hostile village. Following Dr. Jones' death Mr. Simms returned to the Philippines, secured the material gathered by Dr. Jones and completed the Igorot and Ifugao collections, visiting for this purpose the Mayayao and Amburayan Igorot, in addition to certain points touched on the first expedition.

In the fall of 1909 Mr. Cole returned to the Islands and devoted nearly two years to the study of the pigmy blacks of Bataan province, the Bukidnon of North Central Mindanao, and the several tribes residing about the Gulf of Davao in Southern Mindanao.

While the primary object of these expeditions was to gather museum collections, much time was given to the study of the mental and material culture, as well as of the language, folklore and anthropometry of the tribes visited. The results of these studies will appear from time to time in the Anthropological Series of this Museum. The present paper forms the first issue of Mr. Cole's researches.

GEORGE A. DORSEY.

CHINESE POTTERY IN THE PHILIPPINES

When the Spaniards first set foot in the Philippines, they found evidences of trade with an advanced nation. When near Leyte, Magellan stopped for a time at a small island whose chief "embraced the captain-general to whom he gave three porcelain jars covered with leaves and full of rice wine."¹ Later when Pigafetta and his companions went ashore, they were treated to wine taken from a large jar, and when the meal was served, "two large porcelain dishes were brought in, one full of rice, and the other of pork with its gravy."² When they reached Cebu (April 7, 1521), they were informed by the king that they were welcome "but that it was their custom for all ships which entered their ports to pay tribute, and that it was but four days since a junk from Ciama (*i. e.* Siam) laden with gold and slaves had paid tribute." The tribute was refused but friendly relations were established, whereupon the king "had refreshments of many dishes, all made of meat and contained in porcelain platters, besides many jars of wine brought in."³

When Pigafetta visited the king of Zebu (Cebu), he found him "seated on a palm mat on the ground, with only a cotton cloth before his privies. . . From another mat on the ground he was eating turtle eggs which were in two porcelain dishes, and he had four jars of palm wine in front of him covered with sweet smelling herbs and arranged with four small reeds in each jar by which means he drank."⁴

Later they were conducted to the house of the prince "where four young girls were playing, one on a drum like ours, but resting on the ground; the second was striking two suspended gongs alternately with a stick wrapped somewhat thickly at the end with palm cloth; the third, one large gong in the same manner; and the last, two small gongs held in her hand, by striking one against the other, which gave forth a sweet sound. . . These gongs are made of brass and are manufactured in the regions about the Signio Magno which is called China."⁵ After the death of Magellan, the fleet sailed to the south

¹ BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149. This is still the method of drinking in Mindanao (compare Pl. I).

⁵ BLAIR and ROBERTSON, (PIGAFETTA) Vol. XXXIII, pp. 149-151.

until they reached Mindanao. There they made peace with the king, and Pigafetta went ashore with the ruler, in order to see the island. He describes the country, people, their customs and foods, and did not fail to note that "in the house were hanging a number of porcelain jars and four metal gongs."¹ Here they also learned more of the large island of "Lozon" (Luzon) lying to the northwest, "where six or eight junks belonging to the Lequian (Liukiu) people go yearly."² Proceeding further to the south, they encountered the island of Borneo where they found many evidences of an advanced civilization and an active trade with neighboring countries. Here they saw beautiful porcelain jars, cups and dishes, silks and carpets.³

The chronicles of succeeding expeditions left many references to Chinese articles and trade.⁴ In the account of Loaisa's Expedition, we are told of the Island of Bendenao (Mindanao) where two junks from China come each year for purposes of trade. "North of Bendenao is Cebu, and according to the natives it also contains gold, for which the Chinese come to trade each year."⁵ Again in 1543, Alvarado says of Mindanao: "Upon capturing this island we found a quantity of porcelain and some bells. They are well supplied with perfumes from the Chinese who come to Mindanao and the Philippines."⁵

The first (recorded) encounter of the Spaniards with the Chinese seems to have been during a trip from Panay (May 8th, 1570) to Luzon and Manila. When off the Island of Mindoro they learned that "two vessels from China, the inhabitants of which the natives call Sangleys (*i. e.* merchants), were in a river near by." Salcedo was dispatched to reconnoiter the ships, and to request friendship with them, but the Chinese made a warlike display, whereupon they were attacked by the Spaniards who after a short fight took possession of the junks. "The soldiers searched the cabins in which the Chinese kept their most valuable goods, and there they found silk, both woven and in skeins, gold thread, musk, gilded porcelain bowls, pieces of cotton cloth, gilded water jugs, and other curious articles, although not in a large quantity considering the size of the ships. The decks of the vessels were full of earthen jars and crockery, large porcelain vases, plates and bowls, and some fine porcelain jars which they call *sinoratas*."⁶ They also found iron, copper, steel and a small quantity of wax which the Chinese had

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

² *Ibid.*, p. 207.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁴ BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. III, p. 42; Vol. II, p. 72; Vol. III, p. 57.

⁵ BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. II, pp. 35, 69.

⁶ BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. III, p. 74.

purchased. From their captives they learned that three more Chinese boats were trading only three leagues away. Later, on crossing to Luzon, at a point near the town of Balayan, they found that two Chinese ships had just been trading there, and that in a quarrel two Chinamen had been made captives and others had been killed. Proceeding to Manila bay, the Spaniards found four Chinese vessels, with earthenware jars and porcelains, trading. In the city they learned that forty Chinese and twenty Japanese were regular residents there. Friendly relations appeared to have been established when the Moro raja treacherously attacked the Spaniards. In return the Spaniards burned a part of the city, in the ruins of which they found many objects of porcelain.

After the Spaniards had become established in Manila, the trade with China steadily increased,¹ not only in that city but in other ports of the Islands. At first the articles dealt in were of little value to the Spaniards, for "they brought some trifle, although but a small quantity, as the natives with whom they come principally to trade commonly use, and for them are brought only large earthen jars, common crockery, iron, copper, tin and other things of that kind. For the chiefs, they brought a few pieces of silk and fine porcelain."² Of such little use were these articles to the newcomers that it was proposed, in 1574, to stop the trade.³ However, the Chinese were quick to accommodate themselves to the new conditions, and we soon find them supplying many articles, such as "sugar, barley, wheat, and barley flour, nuts, raisins, pears, and oranges; silks, choice porcelains and iron; and other small things which we lacked in this land before their arrival."⁴ Each year this trade increased until the number of the traders was in the thousands, and the Spaniards became dependent upon them for their sustenance. Even the natives relied on this trade to such an extent that the old industries languished and the colony became each day less able to support itself. However, in addition to the foodstuffs which the colony needed they brought silks and other articles which entered into direct competition with the products of the mother country, and this resulted in the royal decree of 1586, which prohibited all such trade.⁵ This edict failed of its purpose, and in hopes of devising a plan whereby the competition would be eliminated, the outflow of gold to China be stopped, and the return of the natives to their old pursuits be accomplished, a meeting was called, and leading Filipino were summoned

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 172, 181, 225.

² BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. II, p. 238; Vol. III, pp. 243-5.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 226, note.

⁴ Letters of Lavezaris, *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 276.

⁵ BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. VI, pp. 28, 29, 90, 150, 283, 286.

to give evidence under oath concerning the extent and nature of Chinese trade. It was believed that if trade in Chinese cloth and the like could be stopped, the natives and Chinese would continue to trade without using money; "for if they should wish to barter in the Islands—which is not forbidden them—they can and will obtain goods as they formerly did, in exchange for such articles as *siguey* (a small white snail), dye wood, and carabao horns; to this mode of trading the Chinese will adapt themselves and the outflow of money will cease."¹ The nine Filipino chiefs, from villages near Manila, agreed that before the Spaniards came to the Islands the people raised cotton, which they made into cloth for their own garments and did not depend on the Chinese, "for although one or two ships came from China each year at that time, these brought no cloths or silks, but only iron and earthenware and *camanguian*,"² while since the arrival of the Spaniards, often twenty or thirty ships come each year."³

The inquiry was without result, and the Chinese increased in numbers and power until 1596, when about twelve thousand were expelled from the Islands.⁴ Despite hostile laws and massacres, they continued to increase and spread out over the Islands throughout the time of Spanish rule, and to-day they dominate the trade with the natives of the Archipelago. The commerce with the Spaniards, whom the civilized natives imitated, was so much more lucrative than that previously carried on with the various villages that the old trade in pottery and the like seems practically to have ceased. Despite the constant references of the early writers to the Chinese and their trade the importation of earthenware and common glazed pottery seems not to have been mentioned after about the year 1600.

While the greater part of the Chinese wares doubtless entered the Islands through direct trade, a considerable amount came in through trade with "Borneo, Maluco, Malacca, Sian, Camboja, Japan and other districts."⁴ "A few years before the Spaniards subdued the Island of Luzon, certain natives of Borneo began to go thither to trade, especially to the settlements of Manila and Tondo; and the inhabitants of one island intermarried with those of the other."⁵ "The cargoes of these traders consisted of fine and well made palm mats, a few slaves for the natives, sago, and *tibors*; large and small jars, glazed black and very fine, which are of great service and use."⁵ Legaspi tells of captur-

¹ BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. VIII, pp. 82-84.

² Incense.

³ BLAIR and ROBERTSON, (MORGA). Vol. IX, p. 266.

⁴ BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. III, p. 298; Vol. V, pp. 73, 105; Vol. XVI, p. 176; BECCARI, Wandering in the Great Forests of Borneo.

⁵ MORGA, *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 134, 185.

ing, near Butuan, a junk whose crew were Borneo Moors. They had with them silk, cotton, porcelain and the like. They also traded in bells, copper and other Chinese goods.¹

Inter-island trade among the Filipino seems to have reached considerable proportions prior to the arrival of the white man. Some of their trips carried them to the ports of Borneo, and one account credits the Tagalog and Pampango with sailing "for purposes of trade to Maluco, Malaca, Hanzian (Achen?), Parani, Brunei, and other kingdoms."² Pigafetta tells of their party seizing a junk in the port of Borneo in which "was a son of the king of Luzon, a very large island."³ In 1565, Legaspi learned that two Moro junks from Luzon were in Butuan trading gold, wax, and slaves.

These Moro from Luzon also came to Cebu to arrange with Legaspi for the right to trade, and when they met with success, two junks from Mindoro were induced to go there also. "They carried iron, tin, porcelain, shawls, light woolen cloth and the like from China."⁴

It will thus be seen that pottery and other articles of Chinese origin might have had a rapid spread along the coasts of the Archipelago, from whence they slowly penetrated into the interior by means of trade.⁵ It seems, however, that even upon the arrival of the Spaniards, some of this ware had assumed great value in the eyes of the natives, and in 1574 we find the native chiefs sending "jewels, gold, silks, porcelains, rich and large earthen jars, and other very excellent things" in token of their allegiance to the King of Spain.⁶ It was also the custom at that time for the family of the deceased to bury with the body "their finest clothes, porcelain ware, and gold jewels,"⁷ and when this became known to the Spaniards they began to rifle the graves in order to secure these valuable objects. This continued until it became necessary for Legaspi to order that "henceforth no grave or burial place be opened without the permission of his Excellency."⁸

There is some evidence that burial in jars was early practiced in the Philippines. ADUARTE, writing in 1640, describes the finding, by a crew shipwrecked on the Batannes islands, of "some jars of moderate size covered with others of similar size. Inside they found some dead

¹ BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. II, p. 207; Vol. III, p. 57, note; Vol. XXXIV, p. 224; BARROWS, History of the Philippines, pp. 99-101.

² BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. XXXIV, p. 377.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 265.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 117, 142.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, 121; BARROWS, History of the Philippines, p. 182.

⁶ BLAIR and ROBERTSON, Vol. III, p. 249; Vol. IV, p. 290.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 139.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 173.

bodies dried, and nothing else.”¹ Dr. MERTON MILLER of the Philippine Bureau of Science recently opened a number of mounds found on the Island of Camiguin lying north of Luzon. In them he found jars placed one over the other, in the manner just described, and containing some human bones as well as a few beads.² Mr. EMERSON CHRISTY, also of the Philippine Bureau of Science, while exploring ancient burial caves in the Subuanan district of Mindanao, found a number of large Chinese jars, some containing human bones and accompanied by agate beads. Fragments of large jars were also found in the burial cave of Pokanin in Southern Mindoro³ (compare Pl. II). Dr. FLETCHER GARDNER, who first visited the place, described the cave as follows:⁴

“It is situated about half way between the towns of Bulalacao and Mansalay in Southern Mindoro. It is on the seaward face of a cliff about 500 feet high and 200 yards wide and is about 200 feet above high water mark. In the summer of 1904, while hunting for guano, I accidentally discovered this cave and procured the skulls and other bones which I am sending you. The nearest inhabitants, who live within half a mile of the cave at the little sitio of Hampangan Mangyans, have known that these remains were there but deny that the bones are those of their ancestors. As two or three members of the sitio assisted me in procuring and carrying away the bones I am satisfied that they believe the statement to be true, but as will be seen from the remains of basketry and fabrics enclosed with the bones these products are practically the same as those of the inhabitants of the sitio above mentioned. I believe that during the great Moro raid of 1754 when seventy-five slaves were taken from Manol and Mansalay the Mangyan at that time inhabiting the neighborhood were driven into the interior and abandoned this cave for burial purposes. . . . The bones were covered with about three inches of dust and nitrous earth, which argues a very long time without disturbance.”

From this evidence it seems not at all unlikely that jar burial may have been practiced by the Filipino, especially those in direct trade relations with Borneo, in which country such burials are common.⁵ In this connection it is interesting to note that Dr. Hirth believes jar burial to have been introduced into Borneo by the Chinese traders from Fukien, and its introduction was probably later than the lifetime of Chao

¹ Aduarte, *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 115. JAGOR, *Travels in the Philippines*, pp. 259-61.

² *Philippine Journal of Science*, Feb., 1911, pp. 1-4.

³ The contents of this cave are now in the Field Museum of Natural History.

⁴ Extract from letter to Field Museum.

⁵ LING ROTH, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, Vol. I, pp. 150-154; FURNESS, *Home Life of Borneo Head-hunters*, p. 139.

Ju-kua, in the early part of the thirteenth century.¹ Ancient remains other than those just cited are of rare occurrence in the Philippines; so I shall quote somewhat at length the very interesting account, given by JAGOR, of excavations in Ambos Camarines, Luzon.

"In 1851, during the construction of a road a little beyond Libmánan, at a place called Poro, a bed of shells was dug up under four feet of mould, one hundred feet distant from the river. It consisted of *Cyrenae* (*C. suborbicularis*, *Busch.*), a species of bivalve belonging to the family of Cyclades which occurs only in warm waters, and is extraordinarily abundant in the brackish waters of the Philippines. On the same occasion, at the depth of from one and a half to three and a half feet, were found numerous remains of the early inhabitants, skulls, ribs, bones of men and animals, a child's thigh-bone inserted in a spiral of brass wire, several stags' horns, beautifully formed dishes and vessels, some of them painted, probably of Chinese origin; striped bracelets, of a soft, gypseous, copper-red rock, glancing as if they were varnished; small copper knives, but no iron utensils; and several broad flat stones bored through the middle; besides a wedge of petrified wood, embedded in a cleft branch of a tree. The place, which to this day may be easily recognized in a hollow, might, by excavation systematically carried on, yield many more interesting results. What was not immediately useful was then and there destroyed, and the remainder dispersed. In spite of every endeavor, I could obtain, through the kindness of Señor Fociños in Nága, only one small vessel. Similar remains of more primitive inhabitants have been found at the mouth of the Bigajo, not far from Libmánan, in a shell-bed of the same kind; and an urn, with a human skeleton, was found at the mouth of the Pérlos, west of Sitio de Poro, in 1840.

"Mr. W. A. Franks, who had the kindness to examine the vessel, inclines to the opinion that it is Chinese, and pronounces it to be of very great antiquity, without, however, being able to determine its age more exactly; and a learned Chinese of the Burlingame Embassy expressed himself to the same effect. He knew only of one article, now in the British Museum, which was brought from Japan by KAEMPFER, the color, glazing and cracks in the glazing of which (*craquelés*) correspond precisely with mine.² According to Kaempfer, the Japanese

¹ F. HIRTH, *Ancient Chinese Porcelain (Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII, N. S., pp. 181-3, 1888).*

² Referring to this paragraph Dr. C. H. Read of the British Museum says: "There must be some mistake in Jagor's book. No such jar given by Kaempfer is in the Museum, and I cannot understand my predecessor, Sir. A. W. Franks, making such a statement. I may mention that I knew Dr. Jagor intimately and regard him as more than usually accurate."

found similar vessels in the sea;¹ and they value them very highly for the purpose of preserving their tea in them."

MORGA writes: "On this island, Luzon, particularly in the provinces of Manila, Pampanga, Pangasinan, and Ylocos, very ancient clay vessels of a dark brown colour are found by the natives, of a sorry appearance; some of a middling size, and others smaller; marked with characters and stamps. They are unable to say either when or where they obtained them; but they are no longer to be acquired, nor are they manufactured in the islands. The Japanese prize them highly, for they have found that the root of a herb which they call *Tscha* (tea), and which when drunk hot is considered as a great delicacy and of medicinal efficacy by the kings and lords in Japan, cannot be effectively preserved except in these vessels; which are so highly esteemed all over Japan that they form the most costly articles of their showrooms and cabinets. Indeed, so highly do they value them that they overlay them externally with fine gold embossed with great skill, and enclose them in cases of brocade; and some of these vessels are valued at and fetch from 2,000 tael to 11 reals. The natives of these islands purchase them from the Japanese at very high rates, and take much pains in the search for them on account of their value, though but few are now found on account of the eagerness with which they have been sought for.

"When Carletti, in 1597, went from the Philippines to Japan, all the passengers on board were examined carefully, by order of the governor, and threatened with capital punishment if they endeavoured to conceal 'certain earthen vessels which were wont to be brought from the Philippines and other islands of that sea,' as the king wished to

¹ This is not a fact but a legend. ENGELBERT KAEMPFER (The History of Japan, Glasgow reprint, Vol. III, p. 237) relates a story, told him by Chinese, regarding an island Maurigasima near Formosa famous in former ages for its fine porcelain clay. "The inhabitants very much inrich'd themselves by this manufacture, but their increasing wealth gave birth to luxury, and contempt of religion, which incensed the Gods to that degree, that by an irrevocable decree they determin'd to sink the whole island." Then follows the long story of the virtuous king who managed to escape the disaster miraculously, and to flee into the province of Fukien. The island sank, and with it all its ceramic treasures. They were subsequently taken up by divers and sold to Chinese merchants of Fukien who traded them to Japan at immense sums. There is consequently a double error in the above statement of Franks: it is not the Japanese who found jars in the sea, nor does Kaempfer say that they were celadons or similar to them; on the contrary, he describes them as "transparent, exceeding thin, of a whitish color, inclining to green," which is almost the opposite to a celadon. That legend, as far as I know, has not yet been traced to a Chinese source. BRINKLEY (Japan, Vol. VIII, p. 267) shows little understanding of folklore, if he calls it a foolish fable; it doubtless ranks among the category of familiar stories of sunken isles and towns in Europe. Brinkley's explanation that the story was probably invented by some Japanese Swift to satirise the irrational value attached to rusty old specimens of pottery is decidedly untenable, if for no other reason, because, according to Kaempfer's statement, the legend is Chinese in origin. The pottery in question is, in my opinion, Chinese ware of Fukien, and the legend emanates from the potters of Fukien. [B. L.]

buy them all. . . 'These vessels were worth as much as 5, 6, and even 10,000 scudi each; but they were not permitted to demand for them more than one Giulio (about a half Paolo).' In 1615 Carletti met with a Franciscan who was sent as ambassador from Japan to Rome, who assured him that he had seen 130,000 scudi paid by the king of Japan for such a vessel; and his companions confirmed the statement. Carletti also alleges, as the reason for the high price, 'that the leaf *cia* or tea, the quality of which improves with age, is preserved better in those vessels than in all others. The Japanese besides know these vessels by certain characters and stamps. They are of great age and very rare, and come only from Cambodia, Siam, Cochin China, the Philippines, and other neighbouring islands. From their external appearance they would be estimated at three or four *quatrini* (two *dreier*) . . . It is perfectly true that the king and the princes of that kingdom possess a very large number of these vessels, and prize them as their most valuable treasure and above all other rarities . . . and that they boast of their acquisitions, and from motives of vanity strive to outvie one another in the multitude of pretty vessels which they possess.'

"Many travellers mention vessels found likewise amongst the Dyaks and the Malays in Borneo, which, from superstitious motives, were estimated at most exaggerated figures, amounting sometimes to many thousand dollars.

"St. John relates that the Datu of Tamparuli (Borneo) gave rice to the value of almost £700 for a jar, and that he possessed a second jar of almost fabulous value, which was about two feet high, and of a dark olive green. The Datu fills both jars with water, which, after adding plants and flowers to it, he dispenses to all the sick persons in the country. But the most famous jar in Borneo is that of the Sultan of Brunei, which not only possesses all the valuable properties of the other jars but can also speak. St. John did not see it, as it is always kept in the women's apartment; but the sultan, a credible man, related to him that the jar howled dolefully the night before the death of his first wife, and that it emitted similar tones in the event of impending misfortunes. St. John is inclined to explain the mysterious phenomenon by a probably peculiar form of the mouth of the vessel, in passing over which the air-draught is thrown into resonant verberations, like the Aeolian harp. The vessel is generally enveloped in gold brocade, and is uncovered only when it is to be consulted; and hence, of course, it happens that it speaks only on solemn occasions. St. John states further that the Bisayans used formerly to bring presents to the sultan; in recognition of which they received some water from the sacred jar to sprinkle over their fields

and thereby ensure plentiful harvests. When the sultan was asked whether he would sell his jar for £20,000, he answered that no offer in the world could tempt him to part with it.”¹

This desire for old jars was by no means confined to the traders and Japanese, for the tribes of the interior had secured a great number of them at a very early period, and later when the supply from the coast had ceased, they began to mount in value until a man's wealth was, and still is, largely reckoned by the number of old jars in his possession (compare Pl. III). As they were handed down from one generation to another, they began to gather to themselves stories of wondrous origin and deeds, until to-day certain jars have reputations which extend far beyond the limits of the tribes by which they may be owned. While among the Tinguian of Abra, the writer continually heard tales of a wonderful jar called *Magsawí* (Pl. IV). It was credited with the ability to talk; sometimes went on long journeys by itself; and was married to a female jar owned by the Tinguian of Ilocos Norte. A small jar at San Quintín, Abra, was said to be the child of this union and partook of many qualities of its parents.² The history of this jar as related by its owner, Cabildo of Domayco, is as follows: “*Magsawí*, my jar, when it was not yet broken talked softly, but now its lines are broken, and the low tones are insufficient for us to understand. The jar was not made where the Chinese are, but belongs to the spirits or Kabonían, because my father and grandfather, from whom I inherited it, said that in the first times they (the Tinguian) hunted *Magsawí* on the mountains and in the wooded hills. My ancestors thought that their dog had brought a deer to bay (which he was catching), and they hurried to assist it. They saw the jar and tried to catch it but were unable; sometimes it disappeared, sometimes it appeared again, and, because they could not catch it they went again to the wooded hill on their way to their town. Then they heard a voice speaking words which they understood, but they could see no man. The words it spoke were: ‘You secure a pig, a sow without young, and take its blood, so that you may catch the jar which your dog pursued.’ They obeyed and went to secure the blood. The dog again brought to bay the jar which belonged to Kabonían (a spirit). They plainly saw the jar go through a hole in the rock

¹ JAGOR, *Travels in the Philippines*, p. 162. In *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. I, 1869, pp. 80–82, JAGOR describes an ancient burial cave in Southern Samar. In it were found broken pieces of crudely decorated pottery associated with human remains.

² Other jars credited with the ability to talk were seen by the writer, and similar jars are described by travelers in Borneo. See LING ROTH, *Natives of Sarawak and British N. Borneo*, Vol. II, p. 286; HEIN, *Die bildenden Künste bei den Dayaks auf Borneo*, p. 139; also ST. JOHN, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*.—The idea of sex in jars is widespread throughout the Archipelago.

which is a cave, and there it was cornered so that they captured the pretty jar which is Magsawí, which I inherited.”¹

Other jars of equal fame “were found in caves in which the spirits dwelt,” or were called into being by supernatural agencies. References to these wonderful jars abound in the folktales, the following quotations from which will serve to show the character of all.²

“Not long after he started, and when he arrived in the pasturé, all the jars went to him, and all the jars stuck out their tongues; for they were very hungry and had not been fed for a long time. The jars were *somadag*, *ginlasan*, *malayo*, and *tadogan*, and other kinds also.³ When Aponitolau thought that all the jars had arrived, he fed them all with betel-nut covered with *lawed* leaves. As soon as he fed them, he gave them some salt. Not long after this they went to the pasture, and they rode on the back of a carabao. As soon as they arrived, all the jars rolled around them and stuck out their tongues, and Aponibolinayen was afraid, for she feared that the jars would eat them. The wide field was full of jars. Aponitolau gave them betel-nut and *lawed* wine and salt. As soon as they fed them, they went back home.” (Extract from the tale about Gimbangonan.)

“And they took many things to be used at the wedding. So they agreed on the marriage price, and Bangan and his wife said, the price must be the *balaua*⁴ nine times full of different kinds of jars. As soon as the *balaua* was filled nine times, Daluagan raised her eyebrows, and immediately half of the jars vanished, and Aponibolinayen used her (magical) power, and the *balaua* was filled again, so that it was truly filled. When they had danced, all the guests took some jars, before they went home.” (From the Kanag tale.)

“‘Now we are going to pay the marriage price according to the custom,’ said Aponibolinayen, ‘our custom is to fill the *balaua* nine times with different kinds of jars.’ So Aponibolinayen said ‘Ala, you *Alan*⁵ who live in the different springs, and *Bananayo*⁵ of Kadan

¹ Similar stories of jars turning to animals and *vice versa* are encountered in the Southern Philippines and in Borneo. See LING ROTH, *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, Vol. II, p. CLXXVI; HEIN, *Die bildenden Künste bei den Dayaks auf Borneo*, pp. 132-134.

² The following are extracts from Tinguian folktales. During the dry season bonfires are built in various parts of the village and around them the men and women gather, the former to make fishnets, the latter to spin. Meanwhile some good story-teller chants these tales.

³ Each type of jar has its particular name.

⁴ A small spirit house built during a certain ceremony.

⁵ Lesser spirits.

and you *Liblibayan*,¹ go and get the jars which Kanag must pay as the price for Dapilísan.' As soon as she commanded them, they went and filled the *balaua* nine times." (Tale of Dumalawí.)

"So they danced and the big jars which she had hung about her neck made a noise, and the earth shook when she moved her body. The people did not agree, and they said: 'Five times full, if you do not have that many (jars) he may not marry Aponibolinayen.' He was so anxious to marry her that he told his parents to agree to what they said. As soon as they agreed, Langaan used magic so that all the jars which the people wanted were already in the *balaua*. The day came when they agreed to take Linggiwan to Aponibolinayen, and he carried one jar. As soon as they arrived there, they made the rice ceremony." ² (Extracts from tale of Ginambo and Gonigonau.)

"Soon after they started, they met the *doldoli* (a jar) in the way. 'Where are you going, young men,' it said. 'Where are you going,' you ask; we are going to secure the perfume of Balewán, for though we are still far from it we can smell it now.' The jar replied: 'Ala, young men, you cannot go there, for when anyone goes there, only his name goes back to his town,' (*i. e.* he dies), but the boy replied: 'We are going anyway. That is the reason we are already far from home, and it is the thing which the pretty maiden desires.' 'If you say that you are going anyway, you will repent when you reach there.' So they left the jar and walked on." (From Balewán tale.)

"The food was of thirty different kinds, and they were ashamed to be in the house of Ilwísan which had in it many valuable jars, for the *Alan* (spirit) had given them to him." (Aponibolinayen tale.)

Great prices are offered and sometimes paid for the more renowned jars, and successful war parties are accustomed to return home with numbers of such trophies.

Every wild tribe, encountered by the writer, in the interior of Luzon, Palawan and Mindanao, possesses these jars which enter intimately into the life of the people (Pl. V–VIII). Among many the price paid by the bridegroom for his bride is wholly or in part in jars (Pl. IX–X). When a Tinguian youth is to take his bride, he goes to her house at night, carrying with him a Chinese jar which he presents to his father-in-law, and thereafter he may never address his parents-in-law by name. The liquor served at ceremonies and festivals is sometimes contained in these jars (Pl. XI–XVI), while small porcelain dishes

¹ Lesser Spirits.

² This is still the custom when the groom finally claims the bride.

contain the food offered to the spirits. Porcelain plates are used by the mediums when summoning the spirits, and having served in such a capacity are highly prized; so much so that they are never sold during the lifetime of the medium, and after her death only to an aspirant for mediumship honors (Pl. XVII). When about to call a spirit into her body, the medium sets herself in front of the spirit mat, and covering her face with her hands, she trembles violently, meanwhile chanting or wailing songs in which she bids the spirits to come and possess her (Pl. XVIII). From time to time she pauses, and holding a plate on the finger tips of her left hand, she strikes it with a string of sea shells or a bit of lead, in order that the bell-like sound may attract the attention of the spirits. Suddenly a spirit takes possession of her body and then as a human the superior being talks with mortals (Pl. XIX).

In districts where head-hunting is still in vogue, a Chinese jar is readily accepted as payment in full for a head, and many feuds are settled on this basis. In 1907 the writer accompanied a war party from Apayao to a hostile village several days' march distant. The two villages agreed to make peace on the terms of one jar for each head the one town held in excess of the other, and on this basis the Apayao paid eleven jars to their erstwhile enemies.

Most tribes of the interior have pottery of their own manufacture. These generally bear distinctive names according to the uses to which they are put. Thus among the Tinguian a jar used for greens or vegetables has a definite name, while another in which meat is cooked has its own designation.

In Northern Luzon the women of certain towns have acquired such fame as potters that their wares have a wide distribution, and the industry has almost vanished from neighboring villages.

The general method employed by the potters (Pl. XX-XXI) is as follows: The clay after being dampened is carefully kneaded with the hands, in order to remove stones and bits of gravel. A handful of the mass is taken up and the bottom of the bowl roughly shaped with the fingers. This is placed on a wooden dish, which in turn rests on a bamboo rice winnow — forming a crude potter's wheel. The dish is turned with the right hand while the woman shapes the clay with the fingers of the left or with a piece of dampened bark cloth. From time to time a coil of fresh clay is laid along the top of the vessels and is worked in as the wheel turns. Further shaping is done with a wooden paddle, after which the jar is allowed to dry. In a day or two it is hard enough to be handled, and the operator then rubs it, inside and out, with stone or seed disks, in order to make it perfectly smooth. The jars

are placed in dung or other material which will make a slow fire and are burned for a night, after which they are ready for service.¹ Some tribes understand the art of glazing with pitch, but this is not generally practiced throughout the Islands. These jars are generally red in color, and in form quite distinct from those of Chinese manufacture. They are in daily use and have a value of only a few centavos.

¹ The writer found this process both in Luzon and Mindanao. Dr. JENKS found a slightly different method of production at Bontoc (see JENKS, *The Bontoc Igorot*, pp. 117-121). This process is illustrated by a life sized group in the Field Museum of Natural History. Pl. XXII.

POSTSCRIPT

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER

At the request of Mr. Cole I take the liberty to append a few notes on the subject of Chinese pottery in the Philippine Islands. From the very interesting information furnished by Mr. Cole on the subject, it becomes evident that two well-defined periods in the trade of Chinese pottery to the Islands must be distinguished. The one is constituted by the burial pottery discovered in caves, the other is marked by the numerous specimens still found in the possession of families and, according to tradition, transmitted as heirlooms through many generations. Let us state at the outset that from the viewpoint of the Chinese field of research a plausible guess may be hazarded as to what these two periods are,—the mortuary finds roughly corresponding to the period of the Chinese Sung dynasty (960–1278 A. D.), and the surface finds to that of the Ming dynasty (1368–1643).¹ By this division in time I do not mean to draw a hard and fast line for the classification of this pottery, but merely to lay down a working hypothesis as the basis from which to attack the problem that will remain for future investigation. There is the possibility also that early Ming pieces are to be found in the graves or caves and, on the other hand, the existence of Sung and After-Ming specimens, say of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the hands of the natives will no doubt be established with the advance of search and research. But these two cases, if they will prove, will surely remain the exceptions, while the formula as expressed above carries the calculation of the greatest probability.

It is well known that during the middle ages a lively export trade in pottery took place from China into the regions of the Malayan Archipelago, India, Persia, Egypt, the east coast of Africa, and Morocco. Quite a number of ancient specimens of China ware have been discovered in all those countries and wandered into collections of Europe. The curiosity of investigators was early stimulated in this subject, and to A. B. Meyer, Karabacek, Hirth, A. R. Hein, F. Brinkley and others, we owe contributions to this question from the ceramic and trade-

¹ Certainly I have here in mind only those specimens prized by the natives as heirlooms and looked upon by them as old. There is assuredly any quantity of modern Chinese crockery and porcelain spread over the Philippines, which, however, is of no account and not the object of legends and worship on the part of the natives.

historical standpoint, while active explorers, particularly on Borneo, have brought to light considerable material in the way of specimens. For the Philippines, little had been done in this direction, and it is the merit of Mr. Cole to render accessible to students a representative collection of that pottery which may be designated as "second period," and which is of the highest interest as palpable evidence of the intercourse between China and the Philippines during the Ming period.

The establishment of the two periods is reflected also in the traditions of the Malayan tribes. Mr. Cole (p. 12) relates that the *Magsawi* jar was not made where the Chinese are, but belongs to the spirits or Kabonñan. There are other jars clearly recognized as Chinese by the natives. In regard to the latter, the tradition is still alive; the former are of a more considerable age or were made in a period, the wares of which could no more be supplied by the Chinese, so that the belief could gain ground that they had never been made by the Chinese, but by the spirits. Among the Dayak of Borneo, this state of affairs is still more conspicuous. There, the oldest jars have been connected with solar and lunar mythology. Mahatara, the supreme god, piled up on Java seven mountains from the loam which was left after the creation of sun, moon and earth. Ratu Tjampu, of divine origin, used the clay of these mountains to make a great number of *djawet* (sacred jars) which he kept and carefully guarded in a cave. One day when his watch was interrupted, the jars transformed themselves into animals (compare Cole, pp. 12, 13) and escaped. When a fortunate hunter kills such game it changes again into a jar, which becomes the trophy of the hunter favored by the gods. According to another tradition, the god of the moon, Kadjanka, taught the son of a Javanese ruler, Rāja Pahit, to form jars out of the clay with which Mahatara had made sun and moon; all these jars fled to Borneo, where they still are.¹ I do not believe that these traditions point to Java as a place from which pottery found its way to Borneo; Java has merely become a symbol for the mysterious unknown. This mythical pottery attributed to the action of gods, it seems to me, is to be identified with Chinese pottery of the Sung period, while that accompanied by mere narrative traditions seems to correspond to that of the Ming period. This sequence of myth and plain story has its foundation in long intervals of time and in many changes as to the kinds and grades of pottery introduced from

¹ A. R. HEIN, *Die bildenden Künste bei den Dayaks auf Borneo*, p. 134 (Wien, 1894), and F. S. GRABOWSKY, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. XVII, 1885, pp. 121-123. Grabowsky is of the opinion that Perelaer, to whom the second tradition is due, can never have heard it from the lips of a Dayak, but simply ascribed to them this tradition originating from Java.

China. This does not mean that a piece ascribed to the spirits will necessarily be a *Sung*, and one credited with a tale always a *Ming*, for interchanges, adjustments and confusions of traditions are constantly at operation.

As no material regarding the earlier period of burial pottery (except a small fragment) exists in the Field Museum, I must be content with a few suggestive remarks regarding the latter. Chinese-Philippine trade must have existed early in the thirteenth, and very likely in the latter part of the twelfth century, as I tried to establish on a former occasion,¹ chiefly guided by the accounts of a Chinese author, Chao Ju-kua, who around 1220 wrote a most valuable record of the foreign nations then trading with China. His work has been translated and profusely commented on by Prof. Hirth.² Chao Ju-kua mentions three times the export of porcelain, by which also pottery not being porcelain must be understood, in the barter with the Philippine tribes. Unfortunately he does not tell us of what kind, or from which locality this pottery was, but one interesting fact may be gleaned now from a comparison of the Philippine place-names known to him with those reported by Mr. Cole as having yielded finds of burial jars. Dr. Miller, Mr. Cole informs us, discovered jars containing human bones and beads in mounds opened by him on the Island of Camiguin, lying north of Luzon. This name is doubtless identical with Ka-ma-yen mentioned by Chao Ju-kua as forming the "Three Islands" with Pa-lao-yu (Palawan?) and Pa-ki-nung,³ and he gives a lively description of the barter with the Hai-tan (Aëta) living there, with the express mention of porcelain. Fragments of large jars, says Mr. Cole, were also found in the burial cave of Pokanin in southern Mindoro; now Chao Ju-kua describes a country in the north of Borneo which he calls *Ma-yi(t)* and identified by me with Mindoro, the ancient name of which was *Mait*. Mindoro, where Spaniards and Chinese met for the first time in 1570, was an old stronghold of the latter, and probably at an earlier date than Luzon. These coincidences cannot be accidental, and must further be taken in connection with the fact to which Mr. Cole justly calls attention, that jar burial may have been practised, especially by those Filipino in direct trade relations with Borneo. It seems to me that we are bound to assume an historical connection between the two and an influencing

¹ The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands, p. 252 (*Smithsonian Miscellaneous Contributions*, Vol. L, Part 2, 1907).

² A complete translation of the work jointly edited by Hirth and W. W. Rockhill has been printed by the Academy of St. Petersburg and is soon expected to be out.

³ See HIRTH, *Chinesische Studien*, p. 41.

of the Filipino by the Borneo custom.¹ On both sides, we encounter almost the same kinds of Chinese ceramic wares, the same veneration for them, and a similar basis of folklore and mythology associated with them, so that the belief in an interdependence seems justifiable. The one fact stands out clearly: Chao Ju-kua, a reliable author of the Sung period, himself a member of the imperial house, relates the export of pottery to Borneo and the Philippines (in the case of Borneo also that of celadons) at his time, the beginning of the thirteenth century, a trade which may have set in at a much earlier date. This pottery can but have been the contemporaneous pottery of the Sung period, and we are, for this reason, entitled to look to the Philippines for Sung pottery. As the pottery found in the caves is, in all probability, older than that now possessed by the natives, there is the greatest likelihood of identifying this burial pottery with the productions of the Sung period. The investigations of the antiquities of the Philippines are in their beginnings, and further results and more tangible material must be awaited before definite verdicts can be arrived at. The pottery fragments must be carefully gathered and examined; it is obvious that they will be of immense value in helping to make out the periods of these burial places. The *terminus a quo* is given by the eleventh century. The small vessel

¹ The subject of jar-burial remains one to be investigated. It is still practised in China among the Buddhist priesthood and, according to the observations of W. PERCEVAL YETTS (Notes on the Disposal of Buddhist Dead in China, *Journal R. Asiatic Society*, 1911, p. 705), occurs throughout the region of the Middle and Lower Yangtse. The same author informs us (p. 707) that the earthenware tubs required for this purpose resemble those commonly used for holding water or for storage of manure. "Occasionally two ordinary domestic tubs (*kang*) joined mouth to mouth are made to act as a coffin, though usually tubs specially manufactured for funeral purposes are obtained. These are made in pairs, and are so designed that the rim of the lid of the uppermost tub fits closely over the rim of the other, producing a joint easily rendered airtight by the aid of cement. A pair thus joined together forms a chamber resembling a barrel in shape." Most of these vessels are said to come from the kilns of Wu-si in Kiangsu Province. The ancient earthenware coffins, however, considered by Mr. Yetts in this connection, must be separated from these burial jars, as they are pre-buddhistic in origin; such a pottery coffin with green-glazed lid attributed to the T'ang period, is in the Chinese collection of the Field Museum. E. BOERSCHMANN (Die Baukunst und religiöse Kultur der Chinesen, Vol. I, P'u t'o shan, p. 175) states that the cremation and preservation of Buddhist priests in large urns of glazed pottery is generally practised; that in the pottery kilns of all provinces such jars are made up to 1.50 m in height and shipped far away, and that a district on the Siang River in Hunan, a little north of the provincial capital Ch'ang-sha, is a well-known place for their production. The jars are mostly glazed brown, concludes Boerschmann, and adorned with reliefs alluding to death, e. g. two dragons surrounding a dragon-gate and a pearl in the entrance, indicating that the priest has passed the gate of perception and reached the state of perfection. This information sheds light on the fact that it was dragon-jars which were utilized on Borneo for purposes of burial.

An interesting practice of jar-burial is revealed by PAUL PELLIOT (Le Fou-nan, *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. III, 1903, p. 279) from a passage in the *Fu-nan ki*, written by Chu Chi in the fifth century A. D. It relates to the kingdom of Tun-sün, a dependance of Fu-nan (Cambodja), which seems to have been largely under the influence of Brahmanic India. Over a thousand Brahmins

mentioned by JAGOR is most probably a piece of celadon pottery. Prof. EDUARD SELER has been good enough to inform us that it is not preserved in the Berlin Museum, but he describes a similar piece extant there, a fragment of a plate or a flat bowl found by Dr. Schetelig in a cave of Caramuan, Luzon, on the Philippines. "The material," Prof. SELER says, "is a red-burnt hard clay including small white bits of what is apparently calcareous matter. The well-known salad-green glaze exhibiting numerous fine crackles covers the entire surface except the circular foot. On the lower face, the marks of the potter's wheel are visible. On the glazed surface shallow grooves are radially arranged." This description, beyond any doubt, refers to a specimen of celadon pottery of the Sung period, and I am especially interested in the fact that it is hard, red-burnt stoneware, and not porcelain. The former authors always spoke of celadon porcelains exclusively, an error first refuted by Captain F. BRINKLEY,¹ who justly says that all the choice celadons of the Sung, Yüan, and even the Ming dynasties were stoneware, showing considerable variation in respect to fineness of *pâte* and thinness of biscuit, but never becoming true translucent porcelain. The majority of celadon pieces in the Sung period seem to have been stoneware, while the porcelain specimens increase during the

from India were settled there, married to native women and engaged in reading their sacred books. When they are sick, says the Chinese report, they make a vow to be buried by the birds; under chants and dances, they are conducted outside of the town, and there are birds who devour them. The remaining bones are calcined and enclosed in a jar which is flung into the sea. When they are not eaten by the birds, they are placed in a basket. As regards burial by fire, it consists in leaping into a fire. The ashes are gathered in a vase which is interred, and to which sacrifices are offered without limit of time. The inference could be drawn from this passage that the practice of burial in jars is derived from India. "Among the tribes of the Hindukush," reports W. CROOKE (*Things Indian*, p. 128), "cremation used to be the common form of burial, the ashes being collected in rude wooden boxes or in earthen jars and buried." This was the case also in the funerary rites of ancient India (W. CALAND, *Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche*, pp. 104, 107, 108) when the bones after cremation were gathered in an urn; according to one rite, the bones collected in an earthenware bowl were sprinkled with water, the bowl was wrapped up in a dress made from Kuça grass and inserted in another pottery vessel which was interred in a forest, or near the root of a tree or in a clean place in a durable relic-shrine. Among the Nâyars or Nairs of Malabar, the pieces of unburnt bones are placed in an earthen pot which has been sun-dried (not burnt by fire in the usual way); the pot is covered up with a piece of new cloth, and all following the eldest, who carries it, proceed to the nearest river (it must be running water), which receives the remains of the dead (E. THURSTON, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, p. 215, Madras, 1906). The latter practice offers a parallel to the burying of the jar in the sea, as related above in regard to Tun-sün. Nowadays, the bones after cremation are gathered on a gold, silver, or copper plate in Cambodja (A. LECLÈRE, *Cambodge: La crémation et les rites funéraires*, pp. 76, 82, Hanoi, 1906). On jar-burial on the Liu-kiu Islands compare the interesting article of M. HABERLANDT, *Über eine Graburne von den Liukiu-Inseln (Mitteilungen der Anthropol. Gesellschaft in Wien, Vol. XXIII, 1893, pp. 39-42)*; the specimen figured is doubtless a Chinese production as used for the burial of the ashes of a Buddhist monk.

¹ China, *Keramic Art*, p. 34 (London, 1904).

Ming epoch. To this conclusion, at least, I am prompted by a series of celadons gathered by me in China and including specimens of the Sung, Ming, and K'ien-lung periods. It is somewhat a matter of surprise that a larger number of celadons has not been discovered on the Philippines. Judging from the account of a Japanese writer on ceramics, translated farther below, there must have been a large quantity of this fine and curious pottery on the Islands in former times, and the search of the Japanese for ceramic treasures there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was chiefly prompted by their craving for celadons. Maybe the Japanese have taken hold of the best specimens, maybe these are still hidden away in solitary caves or untouched burial mounds. We hope that these remarks will instigate present and future explorers on the Islands to keep a vigilant watch on celadons, and to pick up even small fragments, always with exact statements of locality, site, nature of the find (underground, surface, cave, mound, etc.) and traditions of the natives, if there are any, because they may be of great significance. Everything relating to celadons is of utmost historical importance; in almost every case, in my opinion at least, it is possible to define the age or period of a piece of celadon, and also the place of its production,—China, Japan, Korea, or Siam. The Sung celadons are inimitable and could never be imitated, and the varying character of this pottery through all ages affords a most fortunate clue to chronological diagnosis.

In glancing over the collection of pottery brought home by Mr. Cole, we are struck, first of all, by a certain uniform character of all these pieces, if we leave aside the three small dishes reproduced on Plate XVII, which in correspondence with their different ceramic character enter also a different phase of religious notions. Only in the latter lot a single piece of porcelain is found (Pl. XVII, Fig. 3). All other specimens are characterized as stoneware of an exceedingly hard, consistent and durable clayish substance; most of them are high and spacious jars of large capacity; all of them are glazed, and well glazed, and betray in the manner and color of glazing as well as in their shapes and decorative designs a decidedly Chinese origin; all of them have a concave unglazed bottom, most of them are provided with ears on the shoulders for the passage of a cord to secure convenient handling and carrying; none of them is impressed with a seal, date-mark, or inscription of any other kind. All of them are the products of solid workmanship executed with care and deliberation, apparently with a side-glance at a customer who knew. On the whole, two principal types are discernible,—dragon-jars and plain jars. Both groups are distinguished

at the same time by different glazes, and it may be surmised at the outset that they originate from different kilns.

The three jars on Plates VI-VIII exactly agree with one another in shape and glaze (evidently an iron glaze) the color of which moves from a light-yellow to a dark-brown. In the form of rim, neck and shoulders, the identity is perfect. The shoulders are decorated with five massive lion-heads¹ formed in separate moulds and stuck on to the body of the vessel, perforations running horizontally through the jaws. The designs, wave-bands and a couple of dragons with the usual cloud-ornaments, are incised in the body of the clay and in the two specimens on Plates VI and VII not covered by the glaze, while in the case of the specimen in Plate VIII the outlines and scales of the dragon have been overlaid with a glaze of darker tinge, resulting in a flat-relief design. The dragon-jar in Plate V differs from those three in form and technique, and is an extraordinary specimen. The clay walls are of much thinner build and covered with a fine dark-greenish slip. Six ears (two of which are broken off) rest on the shoulders; they are shaped into the very frequent conventional form of elephant heads ending in curved trunks. The two dragons are turned out in moulds and playing with the pearl (not represented in the illustration) designed as a spiral with flame.

In this connection, attention should be drawn to the dragon-jars of a similar type discovered in large numbers on Borneo. The *Tung si yang k'ao*, an interesting Chinese work describing the far-eastern sea trade of the sixteenth century and published in 1618 (Ming period) relates that the people of Bandjermasin on Borneo at first used banana leaves in the place of dishes, but that, since trade had been carried on with China, they had gradually adopted the use of porcelain; that they liked to bargain for porcelain jars decorated with dragons on the surface; and that they would keep the bodies of the dead in such jars instead of burying them.² Despite everything that has been written on the subject of these jars, their descriptions, from a ceramic and historical point of view, are still rather unsatisfactory. The illustrations referred to below are made from sketches, not from photographs. A. B. Meyer and Grabowsky describe the glazes as brown or mottled brown, one

¹ A. B. MEYER (Altertümer aus dem Ostindischen Archipel, p. 7, Leipzig, 1884) describing similar jars from Borneo speaks of five Rākshasa or lion-heads. They are, according to Chinese notion, nothing but lion-heads. The Rākshasa heads are quite different in style, are always characterized by long protruding tusks, and never occur as decorations on Chinese pottery.

² HIRTH, Ancient Chinese Porcelain, p. 182.—The Dayak designation *rangkang* for these jars seems to me to be suggested by the Chinese name *lung kang* ("dragon-jar").—For illustrations of Borneo dragon-jars see F. S. GRABOWSKY, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. XVII, 1885, Pl. VII, or A. R. HEIN, *Die bildenden Künste bei den Dayaks auf Borneo*, p. 133 (Wien, 1890).

glazed white being the only exception. Not having had occasion to see any of them, I think I should not be too positive in my judgment, but can merely give it as my impression that the Borneo dragon-jars are very similar in shape, glaze and design to those from the Philippines, and that both seem to have originated from the same Chinese kiln.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of Chinese pottery is far from being complete, and anything like a scientific history of it does not yet exist. Our collectors have been more interested in porcelains, and the subject of common pottery has been almost wholly neglected. Porcelain is nothing but a variety of pottery and can be properly understood only from a consideration of the subject in its widest range. Porcelain and stoneware appear in China as parallel phenomena, that is to say, the same processes of glazing and decorating have been applied to both categories alike, and certain porcelain glazes have their precedents in corresponding glazes on non-porcellanous clays. The study of this ware is therefore of importance for the history of porcelain, and it has besides so many qualities and merits of its own that it is deserving of close investigation for its own sake. If we had at our disposal such complete collections of pottery from China as we have from Japan, it would presumably be easy to point out the Chinese specimens corresponding to those of the Philippines, and to settle satisfactorily the question as to the furnace where they were produced. Such a collection, whose ideal object it would be to embrace representative specimens, ancient and modern, of the many hundreds of Chinese kilns, will probably never exist, as it would require for itself a large museum to be housed. From my personal experience, restricted to the more prominent kilns of the provinces of Shantung, Chili, Honan, Shansi, Shensi and Kansu, I may say that dragon-jars of the Philippine type are not turned out there at the present day, nor can ancient specimens of this kind be obtained there. Both facts are conclusive evidence, for if once made, some vestiges of them would have survived in modern forms, in view of the stupendous persistency of traditions among the potters. *A priori* it may be inferred that the Philippine pottery came from those localities which were in closest commercial touch with the Islands, *i. e.* the provinces of Fukien and Kuangtung in southern China. The fictile productions of the latter province are included under the general term *Kuang yao*, *Kuang* being an abbreviation of the name of the province, *yao* meaning "pottery." The city of Yang-kiang in the prefecture of Chao-k'ing, not far from the coast, may be credited, in all likelihood, with the manufacture

of the dragon-jars. Dr. BUSHELL¹ thus describes the productions of this locality: "A peculiarly dense, hard, and refractory stoneware is fabricated here, the body of which ranges from reddish, brown, and dark gray shades to black. All kinds of things are made at this place, including architectural ornaments, cisterns, fish bowls and flower pots for gardens, tubs and jars for storage, domestic utensils, religious images, sacred figures and grotesque animals, besides an infinity of smaller ornamental and fantastic curiosities. These potteries are distinguished for the qualities of the glazes with which the dark brown body is invested. One of them, a *soufflé* blue, was copied in the imperial porcelain manufactory by T'ang Ying [in the eighteenth century], from a specimen specially sent from the Palace at Peking for the purpose." Nothing accurate is known about the history of this factory, and additional proof is required to show that dragon-jars were once manufactured there. It is not very likely that jars strictly identical with those found on Borneo and the Philippines will ever turn up in China, unless by excavations on the ancient sites of the kilns. Chinese collectors of exquisite ceramic treasures were not interested in this common household ware which the religious spirit of the Malayan tribes has faithfully preserved. The age of these dragon-jars is illustrated by the fact stated by several observers that the Dayak refused to buy any later imitations made in China which speculative dealers tried to palm off on them, and that any remembrance of their Chinese origin is lost. The same is the case, according to the statement of Mr. Cole, on the Philippines. This fact is singular, as the natives there have been in constant relations with the Chinese, as a Chinese colony has been settled at Manila for centuries, and it can be accounted for only by the explanation that at one remote period dragon-jars of a superior quality, at least in the eyes of the natives, were fabricated which were not rivaled by the later productions. This assumption will be quite plausible to one familiar with ceramic developments in China exhibiting different aspects and ever-varying processes and qualities through all periods. For this reason, I feel inclined to set these dragon-jars in the epoch of the early intercourse of the Chinese with the Philippines, the end of the Sung or the early Ming period, say roughly the time of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.²

¹ Chinese Art, Vol. II, p. 13 (London, 1906).

² In China, large vessels of the shape of these dragon-jars, usually of much larger size, are still used everywhere for the storage of the water-supply needed in the household. They find their place in a corner of the courtyard and are filled, according to want, with the water drawn from wells, which is brought in by carriers or on wheel-barrows. They are called *kang* or *wêng*, and no doubt represent an an-

The other group of pottery in the Cole collection is characterized by well-made thick and oily glazes ranging in color from a peculiar light-blue to shades of grass-green, dark-green, olive-green, and lilac, sometimes combined on one surface. There can be no doubt that all these pieces represent *Kuang yao*, either made at Yang-ch'un, or at Yang-kiang, in Kuangtung Province. None of them is a real celadon, though some of the glazes, in particular the jar on Plate XII, come near to it, to a certain degree.¹ Similar glazes are still turned out at Yi-hsing on the Great Lake (*T'ai hu*) near Shanghai, but they are inferior in quality to these specimens. They owe their attractions entirely to the glaze brilliant with its varying colors blue speckled, flecked with green, or green being the prevailing tint, the blue looking out from beneath it in spots or streaks; in one example (Pl. IX, Fig. 2), fine purplish lines like bundles of rays are brought out around the shoulders under the glaze. The only exception is represented by the jar in Plate XI, which is covered by a dark olive-green glaze, (also in its interior) interspersed with yellowish and brownish spots. It is possibly a *Sung* production, while the others may belong to the Ming period. The only decorated jar is that in Plate XIV which is adorned with a flat-relief band of floral designs. The jar in Plate XII has the four ears worked into animal-heads which differ in style from the lion-heads on the dragon-jars. The larger jars are used in China for holding water, the smaller specimens are wine-vessels.

In regard to the three small pieces grouped on Plate XVII, I have no positive judgment, for lack of material that could be adequately compared with them. The most interesting of these specimens is that in Fig. 1. The ornaments of this stoneware dish are laid out in a cinnamon-red paint over a buff-colored glaze; this paint is produced either by means of vermilion or silicate of copper. A ring on the inner side of the dish is left unglazed; the lower side is completely glazed with exception

cient type of pottery. During the middle ages, the province of Chêkiang enjoyed a certain fame for their manufacture (see S. W. BUSHELL, *Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, p. 130). At the present time, the best are made in the kilns of Yi-hsing in the province of Kiangsu.—Porcelain jars decorated with dragons are mentioned as having been made in the imperial factory established under the Ming (Sr. JULIEN, *Histoire et fabrication de la porcelaine chinoise*, p. 100). The extensive rôle which the dragon played during that period is too well known to be discussed here anew. But as early as the Sung period (and possibly still earlier) the dragon appears as a decorative motive on pottery. In our Chinese collection in the Field Museum, *e. g.*, there is a large *Sung* celadon plate the centre of which is decorated with the relief figure of a dragon. Dragons and many other motives were doubtless applied to common pottery centuries before they made their début on porcelain.

¹ I am inclined to think that such pseudo-celadons have caused travellers in the Archipelago unfamiliar with the ceramics of China or having merely a book knowledge of the subject to see celadons in many cases where there are none, and am seconded in this opinion by Dr. BUSHELL (*l. c.*, p. 13).

of the raised rim on which the dish stands. Nothing like this dish is known to me from China, and I should rather suspect a Japanese origin for it. However, he who will take the trouble to peruse the Japanese account on Luzon pottery, translated below, will receive the impression that it may belong to that still mysterious class styled "Luzon ware" by the Japanese author.

The tiny cup in Fig. 2 is covered with a grayish glaze with an impure yellowish tinge and has a floral design in black-blue overglaze painting; three ornaments along the outward rim resemble fishes. Fig. 3 represents a blue and white porcelain dish, as said before, the only porcelain in this collection; scenery of mountains and water, a rock and a building in the foreground, are painted under the glaze in a darkened blue of poor quality. This piece is of crude and coarse workmanship, and I do not remember having seen anything similar in China. I believe I do not go far amiss in assigning it to the early attempts of the Japanese to imitate the Chinese cobalt-blue, which was first studied by Shonzui on his visit to King-tê-chên in 1510. Also the mark on the bottom (Fig. 3b) betrays a decidedly Japanese trait, and the dish is probably connected with the great export era of Japanese porcelain in the seventeenth century. BRINKLEY (Japan, Vol. VIII: Ceramic Art, p. 87) remarks: "With regard to the possibility of Japan's porcelain having found its way to Eastern countries in the early years of its manufacture, it appears from the evidence of a terrestrial globe in 1670 and preserved in the Tōkyō Museum, that Japan had commercial relations with the Philippines, Cambodja, Tonkin, Annam, Siam, and various parts of China, in the beginning of the seventeenth century."

The exaggerated valuation affixed to these pieces of pottery by the Malayan tribes is not by any means justified by their merits, but seems to be largely the consequence of the wondrous stories associated with them. It is accordingly a mere ideal estimation resulting from social and religious customs. Hardly any of these pieces can lay claim to unusual ceramic or artistic qualities, and from a Chinese ceramic viewpoint they are average common household productions, which would not be very costly affairs when made in China at the present time. While the natives have apparently linked their own ideas and beliefs with this pottery, the question is justified as to whether the impetus for the formation of this ceramic lore was possibly received from Chinese traders. It would be plausible to assume that these were clever enough to trade off on the innocents not only the jar, but also a bit of a marvelous story about its supernatural qualities, which was capable of increasing the price by not a few per cent. It was not even necessary for them to strain their imagination to an extraordinary degree, while on

the lookout for such stories, as they abound in the domain of their own folklore, so that an optimist might feel inclined to think of them as honest rogues who themselves believed what they told their customers in a mere good-natured attempt to be entertaining.

In the *T'ao shuo* "Discourse on Pottery" written by Chu Yen in 1774 and translated by Dr. BUSHELL,¹ we find the following tradition on record:

"Chou Yi-kung (a celebrated military commander during the Sung dynasty) sent a teacup as a present to a poor friend, who after his return home prepared tea and poured it into the cup, whereupon there immediately appeared a pair of cranes, which flew out of the cup and circled round it, and only disappeared when the tea was drunk."

"Such wonderful stories," continues the Chinese author of the treatise, "may not be impossible like the transformations which happen spontaneously in the furnace. Porcelain is created out of the element 'earth,' and combines in itself also the essential powers of the elements 'water' and 'fire.' It is related in the *Wu ch'uan lu*, that when the military store-house at Mei-chün, in the province of Sze-ch'uan, was being repaired, a large water-jar was found inside full of small stones. After the religious worship on the first day of each moon, another lot of water and stone used to be added, and this was done for an unknown number of years, and yet even then it was not quite full. We read again in the *Yu ya chih*, that while Ts'ao Chu was a small official at Ch'ien-k'ang, Lu was officiating as Prefect, and there stood in front of his Yamen a large jar of the capacity of five hundred piculs, from the interior of which used to come out both wind and clouds. These are similar stories, and are quoted here on that account."

In the same work (p. 47) a story referred to the year 1100 is told to the effect that at a wine banquet of friends the sounds of a pipe and flute were suddenly heard, faintly echoing as if from above the clouds, rising and falling so that the musical notes could almost be distinguished, and how upon investigation it was discovered that they came out of a pair of vases, and how they stopped when the meal was over. Here we meet an interesting analogy with the Philippine talking jars discussed by Mr. Cole. Another magic legend is related regarding a scholar who bought an earthenware basin to wash his hands in. The water remaining on the bottom froze on a cold winter day, and he saw there a spray of peach blossom. Next morning there appeared a branch of peony crowned with two flowers. On the following day a winter landscape was formed, filling the basin, with water and villages of bamboo houses, wild geese flying, and herons standing upon one leg, all as complete as

¹ Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain, p. 127 (Oxford, 1910).

a finished picture. The scholar had the basin mounted and enclosed in a silk-lined case; and in the winter, he invited guests to enjoy the sight. The logic of this story is intelligible: designs and scenery as painted on pottery here appear on a plain, coarse basin by a magical process which is suggested to imagination by the flowers formed in an ice-crust.

While these stories seem to have emanated from the literary circle of society and savour of bookish estheticism, there are also others into which more popular elements enter, and which characterize themselves as originating from Taoism. There is a saying in regard to the mysterious ways of the Taoists capable of concentrating Heaven and Earth in a vase. The legend goes that a certain Fei once noticed a stranger jumping into a vase and completely disappearing in it. Fei, in utmost surprise, hurried to the scene and respectfully greeted the old man who invited him to enter also the marvelous vase. He gladly accepted the offer and found a palace with a table covered with exquisite dishes and wines which he heartily enjoyed. The old man possessed the faculty of placing the finest sights of nature in this jar and called himself Vase-Heaven (*Hu T'ien*), subsequently changed into *Hu kung*, "Mr. Vase."¹ Based on this legend, a potter at the end of the Ming period gave himself the sobriquet "the Taoist hidden in a Vase" (*Hu yin tao jên*).²

Taoist priests are generally called in by the people to expel evil spirits. They are able to capture the demons and sometimes put them in an earthenware vessel closed with a cover containing some magic character, and the devils are thus safely carried away by the priests. These and other spirits are sometimes sold to the people as imbued with the power of conferring prosperity on their owners, at prices ranging from twenty to forty Mexican dollars.³

If the Chinese were lovers of fine porcelains and celebrated them in verses, the Japanese may be called maniacs and worshippers of pottery. In view of their relations with the Philippines and the interchange of pottery between the two, a subject discussed farther below, it may not be amiss to allude briefly to the ceramic folklore of Japan, which, after all, may have stimulated to a certain degree the imagination of the Philippine tribes. It is well known that tea was the chief agency in the refinement of pottery, in Japan as in China, and also in a refinement of life and social manners. The tea-plant was intro-

¹ PETILLON, *Allusions littéraires*, p. 70.

² HIRTH, *Ancient Chinese Porcelain*, p. 200.

³ Compare E. Box, *Shanghai Folklore* (*Journal China Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 125).

duced into Japan from China in the thirteenth century, and at the close of the fifteenth, tea-clubs were formed which practised an elaborate tea-ceremonial growing into a sort of esthetic and religious cult. Needless to say that these tea-tasting competitions were derived also from China and in full swing there as early as the Sung period.¹

The Japanese devotees of the tea-cult were intent on supplying their cherished pieces of pottery with a history and with poetical names; they were animated with a soul, and wrapped up in precious brocades, treated as gems and relics. They were eagerly bought and sold at prices far out of proportion with their real value. It is recorded, says BRINKLEY (Japan, Vol. VIII, p. 270), that the Abbot Nensei, in exchange for a little tea-jar of Chinese faience, known as "First Flower," obtained in 1584 a vermilion rescript excusing himself and his descendants from the payment of all taxes forever; and it is further a fact that amateurs of the present time disburse hundreds of dollars for specimens of *Soto-yaki* that scarcely seem worth the boxes containing them. Kuroda, the feudal chief of Chikuzen, had a triple case made for a Chinese tea-jar presented to him, and appointed fifteen officials who were all held responsible for its safety (*Ibid.*, p. 319). Of wonderful tales of Japan connected with pottery, the story of the dancing tea-jar which assumed the shape of a badger (*tanuki*)² may be called to mind as an analogy to the personification and zoomorphy of Malayan jars.

In 1854 Tanaka Yōnisaburō wrote a book under the title *Tōkikō* "Investigations of Pottery," which was published in 1883 at Tōkyō in two volumes of moderate size. This author has devoted a noticeable study to the pottery introduced into Japan from foreign countries, and shows that many pieces taken for Japanese are in fact of foreign origin. He dwells at length on the pottery of Luzon, which was highly appreciated in Japan, and which seems to have acted as a stimulus to the productions of her kilns. Owing to the importance and novelty of this subject, a complete translation of two chapters of the *Tōkikō* is here added. In the first chapter, foreign pottery, inclusive of that of Luzon, is considered in general; in the second chapter, Luzon pottery is dealt with more specifically. The general designation of this pottery is *Namban*. The latter is a Chinese word composed of *nan* "south" and *Man*, originally a generic term for all non-Chinese aboriginal tribes inhabiting the mountain-fastnesses of Southern China. It is usually translated "the southern Barbarians," but it is very doubtful

¹ BUSHELL, *l. c.*, p. 124. The Japanese tea-ceremonies have been described in many books. Of monographs, W. HARDING SMITH, *The Cha-No-Yu, or Tea Ceremony (Transactions of the Japan Society London, Vol. V, pp. 42-72)* and IDA TROTZIG, *Cha-No-Yu Japanernas Teceremoni* (Stockholm, 1911) may be mentioned.

² First told in English garb by A. B. MITFORD in his *Tales of Old Japan*.

to me whether any such sting adhered to the name in the beginning. In the ancient Chinese texts, the Man tribes are frequently spoken of with dignity and respect, and Chinese authors do not shun to admit many cultural elements which the Chinese owed to them. The term Man may occasionally be used contemptuously,—and in what community would an extratribal name not be turned to such an occasional use?—but this certainly does not mean that a stigma is implied in each and every case. In the Chinese accounts of the conflicts with the Spaniards on the Philippines, the Spaniards are sometimes entitled *Man* instead of their usual name, because the chronicler gives vent to his exasperation at their outrages, and there, it is doubtless intended for savages.¹ The Japanese adopted from the Chinese the term Nan-Man or Namban and applied it first to all foreign regions south of their home (with the exception of China), its meaning being simply “foreign tribes of the south” or “southern foreigners” including Formosa, the Philippines, the Malayan Archipelago, Malacca, and the two Indias. Subsequently, it was transferred also to the Portuguese, Spaniards and Dutch who made their first appearance in the southern waters, and it finally assumed the general meaning “foreign,” especially in connection with foreign products, like *namban kiwi* “foreign millet,” *i. e.* maize, *namban tetsu*, “foreign iron.” The church built by the Jesuits at Kyōto in 1568 and destroyed in 1588 after Hideyoshi’s edict of proscription was called *Namban-ji*, “Temple of the Foreigners.”

¹ LAUFER, *The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands*, pp. 262, 271, 276. (*Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. L, Part 2, 1907.)

TWO CHAPTERS FROM THE TŌKIKŌ

I. OBJECTS OF THE NAMBAN

The pottery of the Namban Islands which are Amakawa,¹ Luzon,² Mo-u-ru,³ Eastern India,⁴ Cochín,⁵ Annam, Nekoro,⁶ and Taiwan (Formosa) is usually named according to the locality where it is manufactured. In case that its place of origin is not obvious, the people simply speak of Namban objects, as Namban is a general designation for all these places. While the best productions of the Namban are tea-canisters (*cha-ire*), we have no reason to doubt that they produce also utensils of other character. When I investigated a pitcher (*mi-zusashi*) shaped like , experts took it for the ware called Enshu Mikirigata Takatori.⁷ It was made from a black-purple clay covered with a silvery lustre and brilliant with black marks. I had it exposed

¹ The name is transcribed in the text only in Katakana signs, not given in Chinese characters, which would facilitate its identification. Judging from its phonetic composition, it sounds Japanese, and *amakawa* is indeed a Japanese word (meaning "the inner bark of a tree"). No such geographical name, as far as I know, occurs in Japan, the Luchu Islands, or the Philippines. It is mentioned farther below in this text that it forms with Luzon and Formosa the group of Three Islands (*Mishima*) and produces pottery of white clay and grayish glaze.

² In Japanese pronunciation: *Rusun* (Chinese: *Lü-sung*).

³ Presumably the Moluccas; written only in Katakana.

⁴ In Japanese: *Tō Indu*. In other passages the word *Tenji* (Chinese: *T'ien-chu*) is used for India.

⁵ The Chinese designation *Kiao-chih* is used.

⁶ Possibly the Nikobars.

⁷ The designation of the famous master of tea-ceremonies (*chanoyu*) Kobori Masakazu (1576-1645) and a group of pottery manufactured according to his instructions in Takatori in the province of Chikuzen (see F. BRINKLEY, Japan, Vol. VIII, Ceramic Art, p. 318; OUEDA TOKOUNOSOUKÉ, La céramique japonaise, pp. 89, 93). This name is given in distinction from the Ko-Takatori (Old Takatori) started by Korean settlers in that district. It is not very likely that the above mentioned pitcher is of real Takatori make, as a glaze of that description does not occur among Takatori productions known to us, which generally are of white, light-blue or ash-colored glazes, or take the Chinese "transmutation glaze" (*yao pien*) as model. Our author evidently means to express the same opinion which leads him to class the piece in question among foreign or Namban wares.—In this connection, it is interesting to note that in the ancient pottery kilns at Sawankalok, Siam, small vases and bottles have been discovered by Mr. T. H. LYLE, described by Mr. C. H. REID as being "of a fine pottery covered with mottled glaze, the shapes often elegant, and sometimes highly finished, recalling the fine tea-jars made at Takatori in the province of Chikuzen in Japan" (*Journal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXIII, 1903, p. 244).

to a fire, and the glaze assumed a golden hue. The clay was a mixture of yellow and red earths and changed into a brown. It proved to be a Namban production.

Further among Yashiro Karatsu-hakeme¹ wares, there was a specimen of black-purplish clay emitting, when struck, a metallic sound. I had a piece broken out, and clay and glaze on examination under a lense attested to its being Namban. Among old Hakeme, that kind known as *kōdai*² with black-purplish clay and dark-brown³ and silvery lustre is Namban Hakeme. When investigating some pieces without marks among Bizen,⁴ Imbe,⁵ Karatsu,⁶ and Tamba,⁷ they proved to be Namban.

Mishima ("Three Islands") pottery is that made on the three islands of Amakawa, Luzon, and Formosa. Among this so-called class of Mishima, the large pieces with purple-black clay and green glaze (*sei-yaku*) are Luzon pottery;⁸ those of white clay and grayish⁹ glaze are Amakawa. As to Formosa, I have as yet no proofs, but pieces popularly called Hagi Mishima¹⁰ with a light lustre and decorated with

¹ Karatsu or Nagoya on the north-west coast of Hizen has been the harbour of entry and exit for the greater part of the traffic between Japan, China and Korea; the name Karatsu means "port for China." BRINKLEY (*l. c.*, pp. 307 *et seq.*) and EDWARD S. MORSE (Catalogue of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery, pp. 37 *et seq.*) have devoted full discussions to the pottery productions of Karatsu. Those with a broad brush-mark of white are termed *hakeme*, *i. e.* brush-marked. BRINKLEY maintains that the potters of Karatsu were chiefly imitators, and that, their best efforts being intended for the tea-clubs, they took as models the rusty wares of Korea, Annam, Luzon, etc., or the choicer but still sombre products of the Seto kilns. If this statement be correct, the specimen alluded to above might be also a Karatsu imitation of a Namban pottery.

² *Lit.* high terrace.

³ Jap. *shibu*, the juice expressed from unripe persimmons (*kaki*), from which a dark-brown pigment for underglaze decoration was obtained in Korea (BRINKLEY, p. 49).

⁴ The province of Bizen is celebrated for its hard reddish-brown stoneware described by BRINKLEY (pp. 328 *et seq.*) and MORSE (pp. 49 *et seq.*).

⁵ Imbe is a district in the province of Bizen. Under the name *Imbe-yaki*, "pottery of Imbe," or *Ko-Bizen*, "Old Bizen," the ware made there at the end of the sixteenth century is understood (BRINKLEY, p. 329). Nearly every piece of Imbe ware bears a mark of some kind, usually impressed (MORSE, p. 49) so that the pieces without marks seem to be the exceptions justifying to some extent the suspicion of a foreign origin.

⁶ It is difficult to understand what is meant by unmarked pieces of Karatsu, as the Karatsu potters were not in the habit of marking their productions, and have left no personal records (BRINKLEY, p. 311). See also the last paragraph of this chapter where the presence of marks on Karatsu is utilized as evidence of its foreign origin.

⁷ On the pottery of the province of Tamba see BRINKLEY, p. 398, and MORSE, pp. 178, 347, 360.

⁸ Apparently celadons.

⁹ Jap. *shiro-nezumi*, "white rat."

¹⁰ Manufactured in the province of Nagato, with a pearl gray glaze (BRINKLEY, p. 343; MORSE, p. 81).

a row of round knobs, or water pitchers with black marks on the bottom appear to be Formosan. I shall deal with this subject in a subsequent book. Among Gohon¹ Mishima, there are Korean and Mishima. Specimens called Kumo-tsuru Mishima² with good lustre and fine writings are Amakawa. Mishima is merely a general designation. It should be specified as Higaki³ Mishima, Rei-pin⁴ Mishima, Hana⁵ Mishima, Hakeme⁶ Mishima, Muji⁷ Mishima.⁸

Among the Irapo⁹ I tested the clay of Old Irapo with the brush-mark (*hakeme*) Kukihori Genyetsu Irapo,¹⁰ and found it to be Namban clay. Its make-up is crooked (*yugami*), and it is hard like Korean. As regards the name of the potter Genyetsu, he was usually called Kukihori.¹¹ Writing the latter name with the Chinese characters for *kugi* ("nail") and *hori* ("to carve") is of recent origin. Kukihori is the name of a locality. His style is not limited to the Irapo, but some of the Gohon¹² are like it. Considering a rice-bowl,¹³ a confusion with Korean ware is possible; in regard to tea-canisters (*cha-ire*), however, they are obviously Namban. The Genyetsu Irapo very seldom go by the mark "made by Genyetsu" (*Genyetsu-saku*). It is the same case as with the Ki-Seto of Hakuan¹⁴ under whose name originals and

¹ Gohon is the name of a pottery made in Korea at the instigation of Iyemitsu, the third Shōgun of the Tokugawa family (1623-49) which was imitated in the kilns of Asahi in Yamashiro Province (T. OUEDA, *La céramique japonaise*, p. 89). BRINKLEY (p. 356) remarks that in the Asahi ware imitations are occasionally found of the so-called Cochinchinese faience, but that they are rare and defective. This fact may account for the above definition of Mishima.

² *I. e.* Mishima with clouds (*kumo*) and cranes (*tsuru*); also to be read *Un-
kwaku* in Sinico-Japanese pronunciation. According to BRINKLEY (p. 48), this design was a favorite in the Korean celadons manufactured at Song-do. In all probability, celadons are involved also in this case.

³ *Higaki* means a hedge or fence (*kaki*) formed by the tree *hi* or *hinoki*, *Thuya obtusa*.

⁴ Evidently a transcription of the name Philippines, the first syllable being dropped. Japanese lacks the sound *l* and substitutes *r* for it.

⁵ *I. e.* flowery or decorated.

⁶ Decorated with brush-work.

⁷ Plain or undecorated.

⁸ Here the term Hana Mishima is repeated, though occurring only in the preceding line. The book is somewhat carelessly written.

⁹ The *irapo* were low-priced bowls serving in Korea for making offerings to the dead on the cemeteries (T. OUEDA, *l. c.*, p. LVIII).

¹⁰ *I. e.* an *irapo* bowl made by the potter Genyetsu from Kukihori.

¹¹ Written with Katakana signs.

¹² See above note 1.

¹³ Jap. *chawan*, *lit.* a tea-bowl, by which a large bowl to eat rice from is understood at present, while a tea-cup is called *cha-nomi-wan*, "bowl for tea-drinking."

¹⁴ The name of a potter in the latter part of the fifteenth century about whom very little is known. BRINKLEY (p. 274) and MORSE (p. 200) place him in the latter part of the fifteenth century, TOKOUNOSOUKE OUEDA (p. 8) in the first half of the seventeenth. His name is connected with the production of a yellow faience, the

imitations are included. It is a mistake to designate all Gohon as Korean.¹

Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) despatched a ship from Sakai to Luzon and had a genuine jar (*tsubo*) made there. At that time, not only jars were brought home from there, but it is also probable that he sent to Luzon samples of Furuori Enshu.² Among Namban ware we find a cup to wash writing-brushes in (*fude-arai*) called Hana Tachibana,³ copied from Raku ware,⁴ and also a plain bowl in the style of Shigaraki Enshu Kirigata.⁵ The fact that the lord of Enshu allowed the seal of this ware to be placed only on the pottery for his own royal household and on that of Ido⁶ is of deep significance.

The Mishima bowls (*domburi*) now in general use are made of pur-yellow ware of Seto (*Ki-Seto*), some of which are attributed by tradition directly to his hand. The later copies of his work were, as in so many other cases, named for him, and this makes the point of coincidence with the Irapo of Genyetsu.

¹ This is a repetition of what was stated above in regard to the Gohon.

² The Takatori pottery named for the lord of Enshu, Kobori Masakazu (see above, p. 32). The term *furuori* (or according to Sinico-Japanese reading *ko-shoku*) means "ancient weavings," and possibly refers to a group of pottery decorated with textile patterns. If the above statement should really prove to be an historical fact, it would shed light on the piece of alleged Enshu pottery discussed by our author in the beginning of this chapter and explained by him as Namban. We could then establish the fact of an interchange of pottery between Takatori and Luzon which would have resulted in mutual influences and imitations.

³ *I. e.* decorated pottery with an orange glaze. This ware was produced toward the middle of the eighteenth century at Agano, Buzen Province; its glaze was granulated so as to resemble the skin of an orange, hence known as *tachibana* (BRINKLEY, p. 403). The process is of Chinese origin (ST. JULIEN, *Histoire et fabrication de la porcelaine chinoise*, p. 195; S. W. BUSHELL, *Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, p. 58).

⁴ Raku is the designation of a hand-made pottery originating from a Korean potter Ameya Yeisei who settled at Kyōto in 1525. His son Chōjiro was protected by Hideyoshi and presented by him with a gold seal bearing the character *Raku* ("Joy") derived from the name of his palace Jūrakū erected at Kyōto in 1586; hence the mark and name of this pottery.

⁵ Shigaraki is a place in the Nagano district, Ōmi province, where pottery furnaces were at work as long ago as the fourteenth century. Large tea-jars for the preservation of tea-leaves were the dominant feature of its manufacture. A tea-jar of this kind, of extraordinary size, glazed a light-reddish tinge with splashes of pale-green overglaze on the shoulders, is in the collections of the Field Museum. The variety of Shigaraki mentioned in the text is usually called *Enshu-Shigaraki*, named after Kobori Masakazu, the lord of Enshu, to whom reference was made above (p. 32). According to BRINKLEY (p. 369), the productions with this label offer no distinctive features, but are valued by the tea-clubs for the sake of their orthodox shapes and sober glazes.

⁶ Ido is a ceramic district in Korea from which Shinkuro and Hachizo hailed, two Korean captives who after Hideyoshi's expedition to Korea settled at Takatori in Chikuzen and started a kiln there. During the early years of their work they used only materials imported from their native country, and these productions were therefore designated as Ido. Kobori Masakazu, the feudal chief of Enshu, interested himself in the Korean potters and became influential in the perfection of their work. The *Ido-yaki* seems to have served also the Korean potter Hagi as a model, for the chief characteristic of his productions was grayish *craquelé* glaze with clouds of salmon tint (BRINKLEY, p. 344).

plish clay, and the glaze is decorated in the style of nipples (*chichimi mōyō*). They are much neater than Korean ware. As they are fired under an intense heat, their shapes are well curved, and their sound is metallic. They are all of Kukihori style.

Old Ido (*Furu-Ido* or *Ko-Ido*), Green Ido (*Ao-Ido*), and Ido-waki which are green and hard are manufactured in Eastern India. The book *Wa-Kan-cha-shi* ("Records regarding Tea in Japan and China") says that this pottery comes from India, and that even those pieces said to be produced in Korea have come over from India; the assertion of some that it is called Ido as being made in the style of a certain potter Ido is erroneous; *Furu-Ido* and *Ao-Ido* are entirely different from other Ido both in clay and glaze. This explanation of the Book on Tea is correct: the Ido mentioned above are of Indian make, and the other Ido are Korean.¹ There are also Shiūsān² Ido and Sowa³ Ido which appear to be kinds of pottery of India Ido. Their glaze is blistered and of low grade. *Ao-Ido* is the celadon⁴ of India. Among the objects left in the temple Kin-chi-in by Tōdō Takatora⁵ (1556-1630), there are also Ido which seem to be celadons (*seiji*).

Namban Totoya⁶ pottery has a blue-black glaze uncracked. Its clay is black and purplish, and its sound is metallic. Some have three or four apertures⁷ in the body, and others more. The old ones are called Kaki-no-heta ("Persimmon-calyx"). Among this class, also incense-boxes (*kōgo*) and pitchers (*mizusashi*) are found.

As regards Namban celadon (*seiji*), it has a black-purple clay and green glaze (*sei-yaku*) running in white streams (*tamari-yaku*) here and there. It has a metallic sound and is popularly called Muji Kumo-tsuru or Un-kwaku,⁸ or Hagi make. As regards the production of the green, it is called Karatsu Kumo-tsuru. What the ancients called Muji Kumo-tsuru is this.

The pottery designated as Old Kumo-tsuru and Kumo-tsuru is a production of the Namban. Its style of painting is fine, and the mark

¹ Regarding these Korean Ido see BRINKLEY, pp. 51-52.

² The name is composed of the two characters for "ship" (*shiu*, Jap. *fune*) and "mountain" (*san*, Jap. *yama*). The name is derived from Chou-shan, a place in the province of Fukien, China, where a hard white porcelain was made.

³ Transcribed in Katakana.

⁴ Jap. *seiji*, "green porcelain," identical with the Chinese name for celadons. Probably the celadons of Siam are meant here (T. H. LYLE, Notes on the Ancient Pottery Kilns at Sawankalok, Siam. *Journal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXIII, 1903, pp. 238-245).

⁵ A daimyō who served Nobunaga and then Hideyoshi and retired on his master's death into the monastery Kōyasan.

⁶ Transcribed in Katakana.

⁷ Lit. eyes.

⁸ I. e. plain, with clouds and cranes, a favorite design in celadons.

of a tripod vessel (*gotoku*) with which it is provided is also a tripod vessel of the Namban.

On the preceding pages the difference between Korean and Namban pottery has been explained. Further details will follow. Namban are the various countries as described in the previous notes (*koguchi-gaki*).

Namban pottery provided with the seal of the oven from which it originates is usually not recognized as such by our contemporaries, though clay and glaze point to its being Namban. The mark  ¹

finely made on Imbe ware, the mark  on a jar (*tsubo*) of Bizen, the

mark  three times on a tea-canister (*cha-ire*) of the same ware, and

the mark Roku-zō on a pitcher (*mizusashi*), and marks on several other potteries represent the national writing of Luzon (*Luzon-no kokujō*).² Also a deep-brown glazed tea-canister (*shibu yaku-no cha-ire*) on which

the character  ³ is written consists of Namban clay. Some of these

marks may have been produced by Japanese who crossed over; but others may have been made by the natives (*Man-jin*), for it cannot be ruled that Namban has no marks of the furnace. There is, *e. g.*, on a fire-pan (*hi-ire*) of Annam the mark *Ta-kang* ⁴ impressed by means of a seal, which is the name of the maker. The tea-canisters called Chōsen-Garatsu (Korean Karatsu) ⁵ which have a plant-green (*moyegī*) glaze and purplish clay, or also dark-brown (*shibu*) glaze with purplish clay are taken by our contemporaries for real Karatsu-make on account of their seals of the furnace, but I consider them as foreign manufac-

¹ This is a Chinese character (*ting*, Jap. *tei*). Imbe pottery is characterized by a great variety of peculiar marks the significance of most of which is unknown (see MORSE, pp. 49 *et seq.*).

² The following characters, found in Philippine alphabets, resemble somewhat the markings on these vessels:  Pampanga;  Tagalog;  Ilocano,

equivalents for *la*;  Visayan;  Pampanga and Tagbanua for *na*;

 Tagbanua for *ka*. [F. C. C.]

³ Denoting the numeral 7.

⁴ The two characters are transcribed according to the Annamite pronunciation.

⁵ BRINKLEY, p. 310.

tures in view of the presence of the seals. Such canisters were the models of the Oribe ware.¹ Karatsu pots are not made with a view to durability and therefore not in need of affixing a seal of the furnace. According to clay and glaze, they are objects of the Man. It may be that Japanese who went abroad imported this ware, or some may have imported the clay and glaze and baked the vessels at home. At any rate, it is not the clay and glaze of Karatsu.

II. LUZON

Of pottery vessels of Luzon, there is a large variety. As a rule, people call only jars (*tsubo*) and tea-canisters (*cha-ire*) Luzons. Owing to the fact that all other articles of Luzon bear out a similarity to those of Hagi, Karatsu, Seto, Bizen, Tamba, Takatori, Higo, Oribe, and Shino,² Luzons are erroneously believed to be restricted to the above two articles. Comparing the specimens discovered by me with those imported at present by Chinese junks, I may give the following descriptions of the various wares.

1. Tamba looks very much like Luzon. Luzon is of hard clay and lustrous glaze. Greenish-yellow glaze is splashed (*fukidasu*) over the bottom. Our home-made ware (*i. e.* Tamba), however, is soft, and greenish-yellow glaze is painted on the bottom. It frequently

¹ BRINKLEY, p. 275.

² These are, with the exception of Shino, names of pottery-producing localities in Japan; the wares themselves are simply named for the places of production. Most of them have been referred to in the preceding chapter. Hagi is the chief town in the province of Nagato where pottery kilns were started in the sixteenth century by a Korean whose descendants have continued the manufacture down to the present time. Higo is the principal province on the island of K^Yūshū where pottery-making, also under Korean influence, commenced in 1598. The Shino pottery, a rude stoneware of thick, white crackled glaze, decorated with primitive designs in dark-brown (*shibu*) pigments, was originated in 1480 by Shino Ienobu, a celebrated master of the tea-ceremonies (BRINKLEY, p. 276); MORSE (p. 191) gives 1700 as the earliest date to which pieces recognized under the name of Shino go back, but the type of this pottery must have been made long before this date, as the gray, white-inlaid Shino is accorded an age of three hundred and fifty years.

Our author Tanaka has a different story to tell regarding the origin of Shino. In his second volume (p. 9) he relates that Shino Munenobu utilized a white-glazed water-basin from Luzon and turned it into a rice-bowl, which gave rise to the name "bowl of Shino" (*Shino chawan*); later on, this bowl was handed down to Imai Mune-hisa, but the book *Mei-butsu-ki* ("Records of Famous Objects") says that it is Chinese; imitations of this bowl made in Owari are called *Shino-yaki*; there are many wares from Luzon and Annam which are like Shinoyaki, and which should be carefully distinguished according to clay and glaze. This account plainly shows how hazy and uncertain Japanese traditions regarding their potters and pottery are. The man Shino Munenobu is called by BRINKLEY Shino Ienobu, by MORSE Shino Saburo or Shino Oribe (pseudonym Shino So-on), by T. OUEDA Shino Soshin. Has he really lived, and when? If he lived in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as maintained by a weak tradition, he is not very likely to have obtained any pottery from Luzon, as there is no evidence of Japan having had any intercourse with the Philippines at such an early date.

happens that Luzon is mistaken for a Tamba.¹ The distinction must be made by examining the particular features, as they closely resemble each other in their general make-up.

2. Matsumoto Hagi² is of soft (*yawaraka*) clay, its glaze is not transparent (*sukitōru*), and its sound is mellow (*yawaraka*). Luzon has a white clay and lustrous glaze, its lustre being more vigorous than the green of a snake (*jakatsu*);³ it has a clear sound. There are Tamba which are alike Matsumoto; they are of yellow clay.⁴

3. Takatori is of red clay and crackled glaze. Luzon is of white and yellow clay, with uncrackled glaze, and has the design of a whirl (*uzu*) on the handle.

4. Among Seto there are Luzons.⁵ Among these there are pitchers, bowls and tea-canisters with gold glaze and black streaks running over it. They are found scattered among those called "certain wares" (*naniyaki*).

5. Oribe and Luzon resemble each other. Luzon is hard and lustrous; Oribe is soft and of poor lustre.

6. There are also Shino which are identical with Luzons. Luzons have a transparent glaze, and on the bottoms and handles of the bowls

¹ The notice of BRINKLEY (p. 399), presumably derived also from a Japanese source, that the early productions of Tamba,—a peculiar faience having reddish paste and blisters on its surface,—are supposed to resemble an imported ware attributed to Siam, is remarkable in this connection. BRINKLEY, further, alludes to splashed glazes on Tamba which occasionally occur and are not without attractions, and Mr. MORSE (p. 179) describes a Tamba jar of rich brown Seto glaze with splashes of lustrous brown, mottled with greenish-yellow; but neither mentions splashes or paints on the bottom. OUEDA TOKOUNOSOUKÉ (*La céramique japonaise*, p. 90) says regarding the ancient Tamba pieces that their surface is uneven or rough like the Korean vases or those of the *Namban*,—the only previous instance in our literature where this term has been used with reference to pottery.

² Matsumoto is a place in the Abu district, province of Nagato. The Korean Rikei who opened pottery work in Hagi, on his search for suitable clay, first discovered it at Matsumoto, and there he settled (BRINKLEY, p. 344; MORSE, p. 82).

³ *Jakatsu* is the name of a peculiar glaze invented in China, imitated in a ware of Satsuma; its dark gray and green glaze is run in large, distinct globules, supposed to resemble the skin of a snake (but not the scales on a dragon's back, as BRINKLEY, p. 137, says). In China, this glaze (called "snake-skin green," *shē p'ī lǚ*) first appears in the era of K'ang-hi (1662-1722) and is still imitated at King-tê-chên (Sr. JULIEN, *Histoire et fabrication de la porcelaine chinoise*, pp. 107, 195).

⁴ Mr. MORSE (p. 178) speaking of the earliest Tamba made in Onohara evidently alludes to this passage when he says: "These are probably the ones mentioned in Tōkikō as resembling old Hagi." But Morse maintains that these pieces have reddish clay.

⁵ Seto is a small village in the province of Owari. The Seto ware (*setomono* or *setoyaki*) which has become the generic term for all ceramic manufactures of Japan was originated by Tōshiro, the so-called Father of Pottery (regarding his life see MORSE, pp. 183-184). In Vol. II, p. 11 of his work, Tanaka remarks that among a kind of yellow Seto (*Ki-Seto*), to which we referred above (p. 34), with lustrous glaze and metallic sound, Luzon, Annam, and Fukien wares are mixed, that the latter has fine white clay, while Seto clay is coarse.

there are designs of *tomoye* and three apertures. Shino has nothing of the kind.

7. The tea-canisters of Luzon are of the best quality. Those which might be confounded with Tamba are first and second grades. Those looking like Seto are coarse and low grades of Luzons. They are frequently found together with those ranging as second qualities among the Namban.¹ The water-dishes (*mizu-ire*)² and oil-dishes (*abura-ire*) among the Namban with yellow clay and splashes of dark-brown (*shibu fukidasu*) are Luzons.

8. I obtained a tea-canister of the shape  similar to Tamba.

On its shoulders, four plum-blossoms and two seals are impressed by means of a stamp. The writing was first illegible, but when I rubbed

it, it appeared as follows:³ . The symbol in the latter

seal may be the character  Lü in the national writing of Luzon.⁴

This vessel was of yellow clay and tea-colored glaze with splashes of dark-brown (*shibu*).

9. Pearl-gray celadon (*shukō seiiji*) is the celadon (*seiiji*) of Luzon.

10. Sun-koroku should be written Rusun- (*i. e.* Luzon) kōroku.⁵

¹ Namban is here expressed in the text by "insular objects."

² Dishes containing the water to be poured on the ink-pallets and used in rubbing a cake of ink.

³ In the Japanese text, the two seals are placed the one below the other; for the sake of convenience, they are here arranged side by side.

⁴ This supposition is probably correct. The case is as follows. The second portion of the seal plainly contains two Chinese characters reading *sung ch'i*; this character *sung* is used in writing the second syllable in the name of Luzon, Chinese *Lü-sung*, Japanese *Ru-sun*. It is therefore logical to conjecture the character for *Lü* preceding that for *sung*. The sign in the first seal, however, is not obviously identical with the latter, but apparently a variation of it in ornamental style, which, as suggested by our author, may have developed on Luzon itself. If we adopt this reading, we obtain the legend: *Lü-sung ch'i* (Chinese) or *Ru-sun tsukuru* (Japanese), which means: "Luzon make," or "made on Luzon." I see no reason to doubt the credibility of our informant, and take it for granted that a vessel with such a seal really was in existence. This fact, then, is of great historical importance, for it demonstrates that pottery may have actually been manufactured on the Philippines either by Chinese or Japanese, or by both.

⁵ Mr. MORSE (p. 321) alludes to this passage in the following notice: "The work *Tōkikō* says that the word Sunkoroku ought to be written Rosokoroku. It further adds that *Sun* stands for the Chinese dynasty, and *Koroku* the name of a pottery." But it will be seen from the above text that our author means to express a different sense. He is far from identifying the word *Sun* with the *Sung* dynasty, but proposes to interpret it as *Lü-sung*, *Rusun*, *Luzon* (the reading *Roso* is certainly possible, but the *Tōkikō*, in the first passage where the word occurs, transcribes the characters in Kana as *Rusun*). The pottery called Sunkoroku is, according to Morse, a hard stoneware with dull yellowish or grayish clay (that having the former

On Luzon it is the designation for a dyed article. On a flowerpot of Mitani Riōboku Fukushiu, the legend *Karamono Kōroku* (*i. e.* Chinese Kōroku) is inscribed. Kōroku is an article of pottery. It is so called by combining the names of the utensil and the locality. It is soft because it is not thoroughly baked. Among later imports some with black designs and pale-yellow glaze are encountered. Its sound is solid.

11. Luzon is compact and dense both in clay and glaze. After years, when washed, it appears like new, and its age may be doubted. This is due to the intense heat of the tropical regions.

12. The genuine jars and tea-canisters have their bottoms concave.¹ The "Book on Tea" (*Cha-kei*) says: "When placed on the bottom and on the sides of the body, tea keeps well in these jars." Luzon, therefore, is serviceable for tea.

13. The best qualities are of white clay; the middle grades are of yellow clay mixed with white clay and sand; and the lowest grades are of purplish-black clay.

14. All Luzon pieces have the wheel-mark (*rokuro*) . On the incense-boxes (*kōgō*) it is always found inside of the body and on the lid. On the basins (*hachi*), censers (*kōro*) and bowls (*chawan*) it is outside on the bottom. On the pitchers (*mizusashi*) it is on the handle. Among the so-called Koshido of Iga Shigaraki, Luzons are numerous. They should carefully be distinguished. Those of stronger lustre and free from any defilements are Luzons. One will surely find two vertical spatular marks on the right.

The following varieties are encountered among Luzons: Tea-canisters with plum-blossoms impressed by means of a stamp, and a

color being the oldest) with a peculiar archaic decoration of scrolls and diapers, rarely landscapes, carefully drawn in dark brown; whatever the origin of the style of decoration, it forms a most unique type. There are fifteen pieces of this pottery in the Morse collection at Boston, and one of these is dated 1845. It may hence be inferred that the first part of the nineteenth century is the period when the Sunkoroku was in vogue. The Japanese concerned seem to agree in assigning to it a foreign origin. T. OUEDA (*La céramique japonaise*, p. 69) explains the word as the name of a centre of foreign manufacture the products of which were imitated. BRINKLEY (p. 171) holds a more elaborate theory. He makes Sunkoroku a variety of Satsuma copied from a faience of archaic character manufactured near Aden, and valued by the Japanese for the sake of its curiosity and foreign origin. "The *pâte* is stone-gray, tolerably hard, but designedly less fine than that of choice Satsuma wares. The glaze is translucent, and the decoration consists of zigzags, scrolls, diapers, and tessellations in dark brown obtained from the juice of the *Kaki*. The Indian affinities of this type are unmistakable. It is not without interest, but a somewhat coarse gray faience with purely conventional designs in dark brown certainly cannot boast many attractions. The original ware of Aden is, in some cases, redeemed from utter homeliness by a curious purplish tinge which the glaze assumes in places." It is evident that this pottery is different from that of our Japanese author, which is stated to be soft.

¹ This is the case in all specimens of Philippine jars in Mr. Cole's collection

thin yellow-green glaze. The same with a combination of black and gold glaze. The same with gold glaze. The same with black glaze. The same with tea-colored (brownish) glaze and provided with ears. The same with green-yellow glaze. The same with yellow glaze. The same of the shape of a rice-kettle. The same with four nipples.¹ The same with projecting bottom. The same called *Usu-ito-giri*.² The same called *Hi-tasuki*.³ The same with candy-brown⁴ glaze. Mon-rin.⁵ Tegami.⁶ Oil-pitchers. The same with ears. The same, Utsumi and Daikei.⁷ The same called Nasubi.⁸ The same called Wari-futa.⁹ Various shapes of Bizen. Shapes of Iga, and other kinds.

Of Mishima there are the following: Undecorated common ones (*muji-hira*). The same, of the black variety of the country Go.¹⁰ With painting of a trout (*ayu*). Various kinds with brush-marks (*hakeme*). Old Mishima. Deep bowls (*domburi*). Various Mishima. Gourd-shaped fire-holders with brush-mark.

Of white porcelain, there are the following: Pitchers (*katakuchi*). Hand-jugs (*te-bachi*). Boat-shaped jugs (*fune-bachi*).¹¹ Various bowls. Tachimizu. Gourd-shaped fire-holders. Plain basins. Fire-holders

¹ *I. e.* knobs. The Chinese archæologists avail themselves of the same expression in describing the knobs on certain ancient bronze bells and metal mirrors. Compare p. 36.

² *I. e.* cut with a thin thread. The thread was used to cut off the superfluous clay at the bottom of the piece before removing the latter from the wheel, a contrivance first applied by the famous potter Tōshiro of the thirteenth century (BRINKLEY, p. 266). The term is here simply used in opposition to the pieces with projecting bottom.

³ *I. e.* vermilion cord; *tasuki* is a cord used for girding up the sleeves while working. These vessels doubtless had a cord brought out in relief around the neck, as may be seen, *e. g.*, also in Chinese terra cotta of Yi-hsing.

⁴ *Ame* or *takane* is a kind of jelly made from wheat or barley flour.

⁵ Or *Bun-rin*. BRINKLEY (p. 319) mentions a tea-jar named *Fun-rin cha-tsubo*, without explaining this designation.

⁶ Jars with ears.

⁷ *Utsumi* (Chinese: *nei hai*) means inland sea, and *daikei* (Chinese: *ta hai*) great sea; expressions to denote certain varieties of pottery.

⁸ *I. e.* egg-plant.

⁹ *I. e.* with divided lids.

¹⁰ Chinese: *Wu*. Wu was the name of an ancient kingdom in China inhabited by a non-Chinese stock of peoples and comprising the territory of the present province of Kiangsu, the south of Anhui, and the north of Chêkiang and Kiangsi. An ancient tradition has it that the Japanese called themselves descendants of the ancestor of the kings of Wu (CHAVANNES, *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. IV, p. 1), and the oldest cultural relations of Japan with China refer to this region. The Japanese understand the name *Wu* (or *Go* according to their pronunciation) in the sense of middle China, also as China in general, sometimes more specifically as the region of the Yangtse Delta, or as Nanking.

¹¹ A jardinière in the shape of a boat, of Shino pottery, is figured in *Collection Ch. Gillot*, p. 104.

with ears. Kaya-tsubo.¹ Wine-cups² with ears, on stands. Kōroku water-pitcher. Kōroku deep bowls (*domburi*). The same, hexagonal incense-box. The same, incense-box in straight lines.

Of Oribe shapes, the following are known: Three incense-boxes. Water-pitcher (*mizutsugi*). Flower-vase. Bowl. Basin.

Of Shino shapes, a bowl, incense-box, water-pitcher, wine-cup, saucer, basin, jug (*katakuchi*), and others, are known.

Of black-glazed ware, flower-vases with ears, various water-pitchers, and tachimizu with ears are known.

Of Iga shapes, water-pitchers with ears, one made by Kōson,³ and various pieces similar to Iga and Shigaraki are known.

Various pieces resembling Seto, Tamba, Takatori, Yasshiro, Karatsu, etc.

Of plainly burnt ware:⁴ bottle with vermilion cord (*hi-tasuki tokuri*); fire-holder; gourd-shaped water-pitcher; large and small kayatsubo.

Of gourd-shaped pieces there are: jugs (*katakuchi*); hexagonal ones; tachimizu; flower-vases with horizontal rope and ears; rippled bowls with sea-slug glaze;⁵ basin in the shape of a fish; water-pitcher with dark-brown (*shibu*) glaze and potato-head (*imo-gashira*).

Of Shibu ware there are water-pitchers with indented rim; green-glazed *katakuchi*, and the same of black glaze and gold glaze.

This account is exceedingly interesting, but must certainly not be accepted on its face value. The author apparently suffers from a certain degree of Luzonitis by seeing Luzon ware in every possible case, and without rendering himself a clear account of what this Luzon pottery is. Judging from the extensive trade carried on between China and the Philippines, the large bulk of foreign pottery brought to the Islands must have been of Chinese origin, and the descriptions given by our Japanese author, however succinct they may be, hardly allow of any other inference than that the pieces referred to are Chinese. If we adopt this point of view, an embarrassing difficulty arises at once. If it is here the question of plainly Chinese pottery, why does the Japanese scholar not make any statement to this effect? Is it believable that a Japanese expert in ceramics who is bound to know Chinese pottery thoroughly, and who writes about it with authority in the same

¹ *Lit.* mosquito-net jars.

² *Choku, lit.* pig's mouth.

³ Apparently provided with this mark.

⁴ *Suyaki-mono, i. e.* unglazed pottery.

⁵ *Namako-gusuri*, so called from the likeness which the *flambé* glaze bears to the greenish-blue mottled tints of the sea-slug (*namako*), a Chinese glaze imitated in Satsuma ware (BRINKLEY, p. 137).

book, should have failed to recognize the Chinese character of pieces brought from Luzon over to Japan? If he does not allude to any Chinese relationship, but classifies this ware as a distinct group of Luzons,— what is, or could then be, the specific character of these productions to differentiate them from Chinese or any other? One point is obvious at the outset,— that this Luzon ware cannot be due to any native tribes of the Philippines. The descriptions refer to highly glazed pieces of an advanced workmanship, such as have never been turned out by the aborigines, whose primitive unglazed or polished earthenware could hardly have tempted the Japanese, not to speak of having elicited their admiration, as we read on the preceding pages. In order to understand, on the part of the Japanese, the assumption of an individual, artistic Philippine pottery coveted by them and deemed worthy of imitation, we have three possibilities to take into consideration: the trade of Siam and Cambodja with the Islands by which pottery of these countries has doubtless reached them, particularly the celadon made in Siam; a special manufacture of pottery in China for the needs of the Philippine market; and possibly, to a certain extent, a home production on the Islands through Chinese or Japanese settlers (or both).¹ By availing themselves of local clays and glazing materials, these may have accomplished a ware of fairly peculiar qualities and yet not much removed from what they had learned in the lands of their birth. Such an hypothesis would indeed meet the requirements of the situation advantageously and satisfactorily. The only objection to be made to it,— and it is certainly a strong one,— is that no record of any Sino-Japanese pottery-making on the Islands exists, either in Spanish accounts, or in native traditions, or in Chinese and Japanese literature. On the other hand, no valid reason could be advanced against the possibility of its existence, and in the same manner as the ruins of the celadon kilns of Siam, for a long time disowned, have finally been discovered, we may expectantly look forward to a future similar

¹ In the *Seiyō-ki-bun*, an old Japanese manuscript by ARAI HAKUSEKI, translated by S. R. BROWN (*Journal North China Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vols. II and III, Shanghai, 1865 and 66), there is the following passage relative to the Japanese settlement on Luzon (Vol. II, p. 80): "In the southwest part of Luzon, there is a mountain which produces a large amount of silver. More than three thousand descendants of Japanese emigrants live there together and do not depart from the customs of their fatherland. When their officers make their appearance abroad, they wear two swords and are accompanied by spear-bearers. The rest of these Japanese wear one sword. The Spaniards have laws for the government of this colony of Japanese, and do not let them wander about in the country indiscriminately. Four years ago twelve Japanese who had been driven off from our coast by a storm, arrived at Rusun [Luzon], and the Spaniards assigned them a place with the rest of their countrymen." The political platform of these Japanese colonizers, who seem to have been settled before 1598, was an *entente cordiale* with the Spaniards and hostile attitude toward the Chinese, in their own interest (see *Relations of the Chinese*, etc., p. 269).

discovery on the Philippines. One palpable piece of evidence pointing in this direction is furnished by our author in the description of a tea-canister bearing the Chinese seal "Luzon make" (p. 40). The only plausible explanation for this, if the report is correct,—and I see no reason to take umbrage at it,—is that a jar with such a special mark could but have been produced on the very soil of Luzon.

Conspicuous among the pottery recorded in the Tōkikō are the celadons. They are attributed to the Namban in general, to India and to Luzon in particular. The black-purple clay, the green glaze, the metallic sound, the designs of clouds and cranes, all pronounced characteristics of celadons, are insisted on by our author. The search of the Japanese for celadons in the Philippines is the more remarkable, as they received these vessels from China and Korea and subsequently manufactured them in their own country. Celadon was imitated at Okawachi in the province of Hizen, though the time of its beginnings seems not to be known. According to BRINKLEY (p. 99) the color of the glaze in some of the best specimens is indescribably beautiful; only a practiced eye can perceive that, in point of delicacy and lustre, the advantage is with the Chinese ware. In the first part of the seventeenth century, celadon was produced at Himeji in the province of Harima on the Inland Sea (*Ibid.*, p. 372), in the eighteenth century by the potter Eisen at Kyōto (p. 210), later on at Meppō (p. 378), from 1801 at Inugahara (p. 380), quite recently by Seifu at Kyōto (p. 417), and at Otokoyama in the province of Kishiu (p. 377).

Hideyoshi, the Taikō, a liberal patron of the ceramic industry which was revived and promoted under his untiring activity, had a genuine jar made for himself on Luzon, as stated by our author. This is in accord with contemporaneous Jesuit relations. The Jesuit Ludwig Froez (Frois) wrote in 1595: "In the Philippines jars called *boioni* are found which are estimated low there but highly priced in Japan, for the delicious beverage *Cie* (tea) is well preserved in them; hence what is counted as two crowns by the Filipino, is much higher valued in Japan and looked upon as the greatest wealth like a gem."¹ Hideyoshi monopolized the trade in this pottery and is said to have confiscated similar jars on their arrival from Japanese Christians who had purchased them at Manila, and to have prohibited any further trade in them under penalty of death.² But the same Hideyoshi was visited in his castle at Ōsaka by Chinese merchants who brought him the choicest ceramic productions of their country. Many a noble pair of celadon vases

¹ Quoted by O. MÜNSTERBERG, *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. II, p. 247.

² O. NACHOD, *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan*, p. 57 (Leipzig, 1897). Compare also COLE, above, p. 10.

thus came into his possession, and were presented by him to temples throughout the country where several of them are still carefully preserved.¹ For this reason, we are bound to presume, either that the celadons hunted by the Japanese on the Philippines were different from those imported from China, or that the Chinese imports did not suffice to fill the demand, and that the commercial opportunities afforded on the Philippines must have had a special attraction for them. This may indeed be inferred from the political events of the time. Hideyoshi's military expedition to Korea in 1597 was a blow directed against China. During the rule of the Ming dynasty (1368–1643), commercial relations between China and Japan were crippled; Japanese corsairs pillaged the coasts of southern China, and fear of them led to the exclusion of Japanese trading-vessels except admission on special passports, and but few Chinese junks stealthily made for Japan. Only the advance of the Manchu dynasty brought about a change in these conditions, and after the Dutch had lost the possession of Formosa (1662), China's trade with Japan began to flourish. While Hideyoshi, owing to the high ambitions of his politics, observed a hostile attitude toward China, he cast his eyes Philippineward. In 1592, he despatched a message to the Spanish Governor, demanding the recognition of his supremacy; otherwise he would enforce it by an invasion and devastation of the Islands. The frightened Governor, not prepared for such an attack nor willing to lose the profitable trade relations with Japan, sent an embassy under the leadership of a Dominican to the Taikō to whom he offered a treaty of amity. Hideyoshi promised to desist from military action, on payment of a yearly tribute. In 1593, the conditions of this treaty were stipulated, according to which the Japanese promised to despatch annually to Manila ships freighted with provisions, to stop piracy, and to grant passports to Spanish captains for the safety of their ships.²

In many cases where our Japanese author believes to recognize Namban or Luzon types among well-known Japanese wares, I am under the impression that such coincidences, partially, may be due to the common ancestorship of these pieces being in China. The traditions of Japanese potters rest on those of China, and even in comparatively modern productions of Japanese furnaces, many ancient Chinese forms are rather faithfully preserved. Mr. MORSE (p. 320), in speaking of Satsuma, has the following interesting remark: "One of the types of Ninagawa³ resembles very closely in form a jar found among ancient Chinese pieces discovered in caves in Borneo, an example of which is

¹ BRINKLEY, *l. c.*, p. 31.

² NACHOD, *l. c.*, pp. 58, 60.

³ A Japanese writer on pottery.

in the Trocadero Museum in Paris." This can only mean to say that the piece in question is derived from a Chinese type, which was also the parent of the Borneo jar.

But whatever our criticism of this Japanese record may be, it reveals a good many interesting facts hitherto unknown to us. It unrolls a picture of a former intimate contact between the two cultures, and undeniably shows that at a time the Philippines must have been a rich storehouse of fine pottery of various descriptions coveted and imitated by the Japanese. We are thus confronted with the fact that historical problems worthy of investigation are connected with the Philippines, and that the question of foreign pottery in existence on the Islands is much more complicated than it appears on the surface. Inquiries should be made in Japan as to any surviving examples of this so-called Luzon pottery and its possible influences on indigenous manufactures. Further research conducted in the Philippines may bring to light additional material toward the solution of this problem.



DRINKING RICE WINE THROUGH REEDS.



BURIAL CAVE.



CHINESE POTTERY JARS.



TWO FAMOUS CHINESE POTTERY JARS.



CHINESE DRAGON-JAR.





CHINESE DRAGON-JAR.



CHINESE DRAGON-JAR.



CHINESE DRAGON-JAR.



1



2

CHINESE LIGHT-BLUE GLAZED WINE-JARS.



CHINESE JAR WITH BLUE AND GREEN MOTTLED, CRACKLED GLAZE.

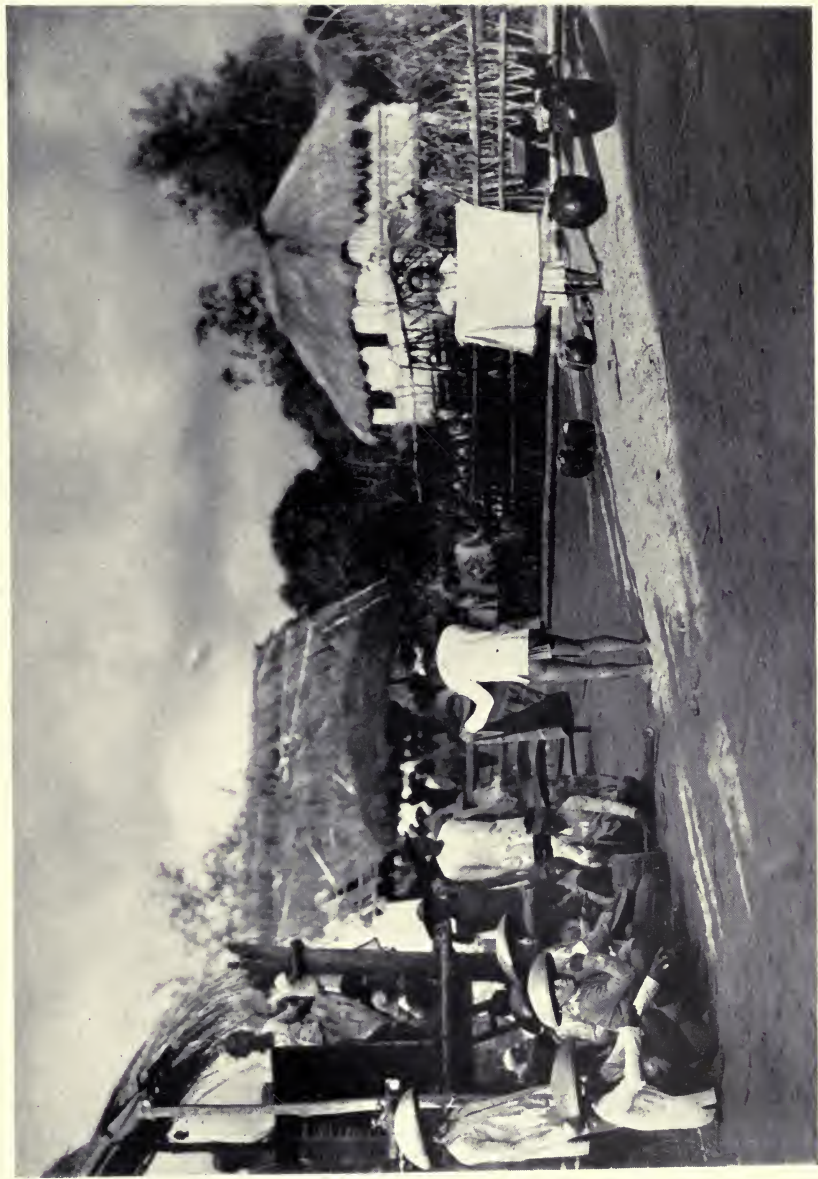




CHINESE DARK OLIVE-GREEN GLAZED WINE-JAR.



CHINESE LIGHT-BLUE GLAZED JAR.



CHINESE JARS ENTERING A DANCING-CEREMONY



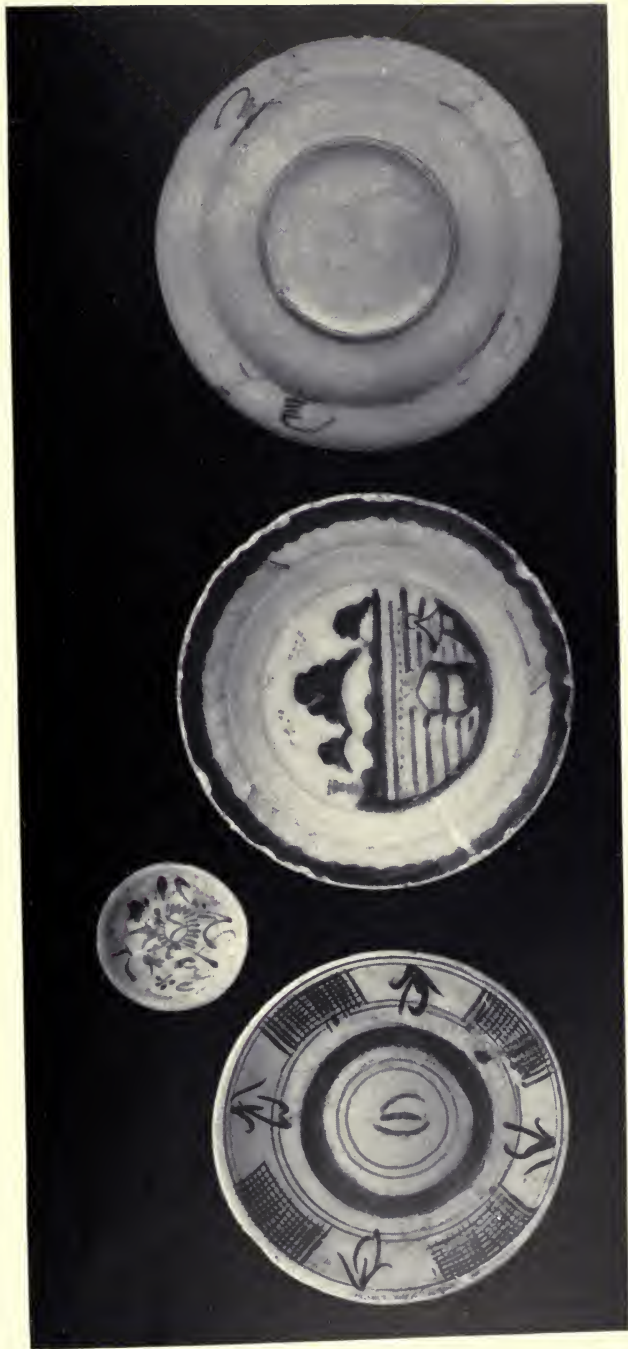
CHINESE BLUE AND GREEN GLAZED LIQUOR-JAR.



CHINESE GREEN-GLAZED JAR.



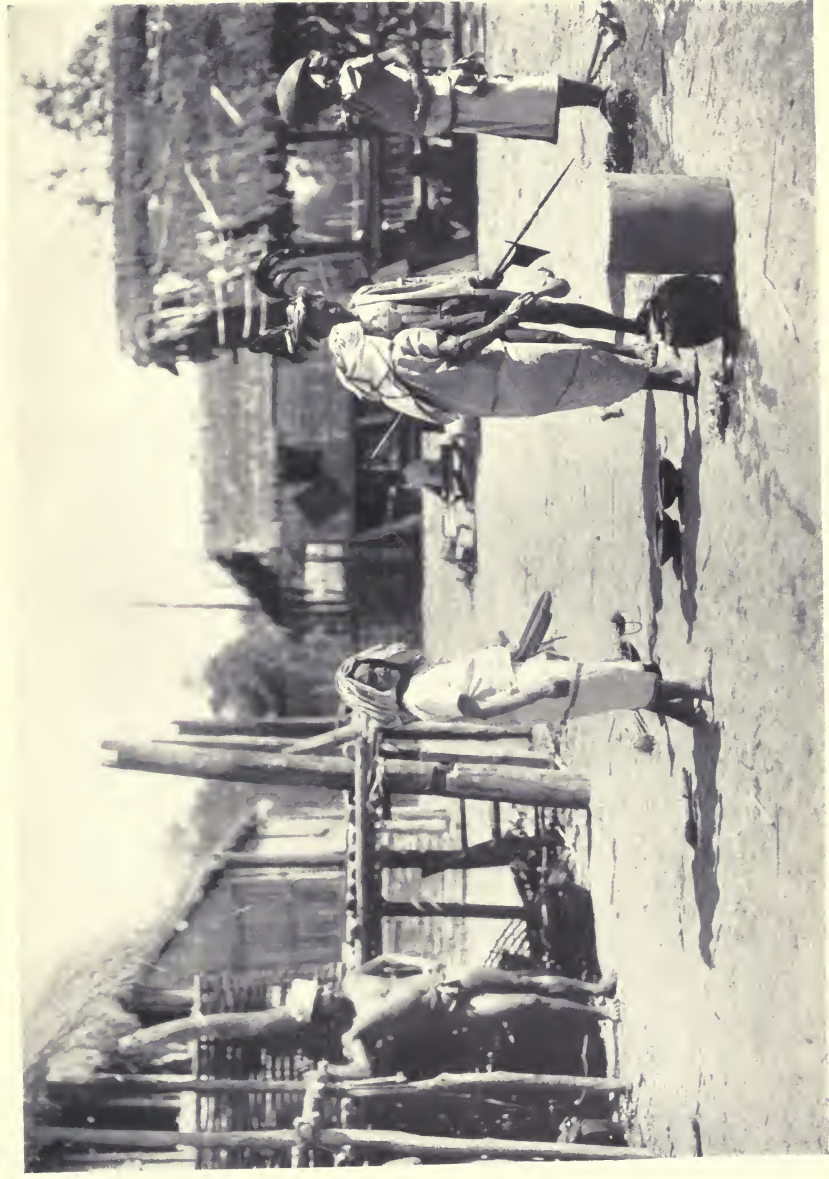
CHINESE GREEN-GLAZED WINE-JAR.



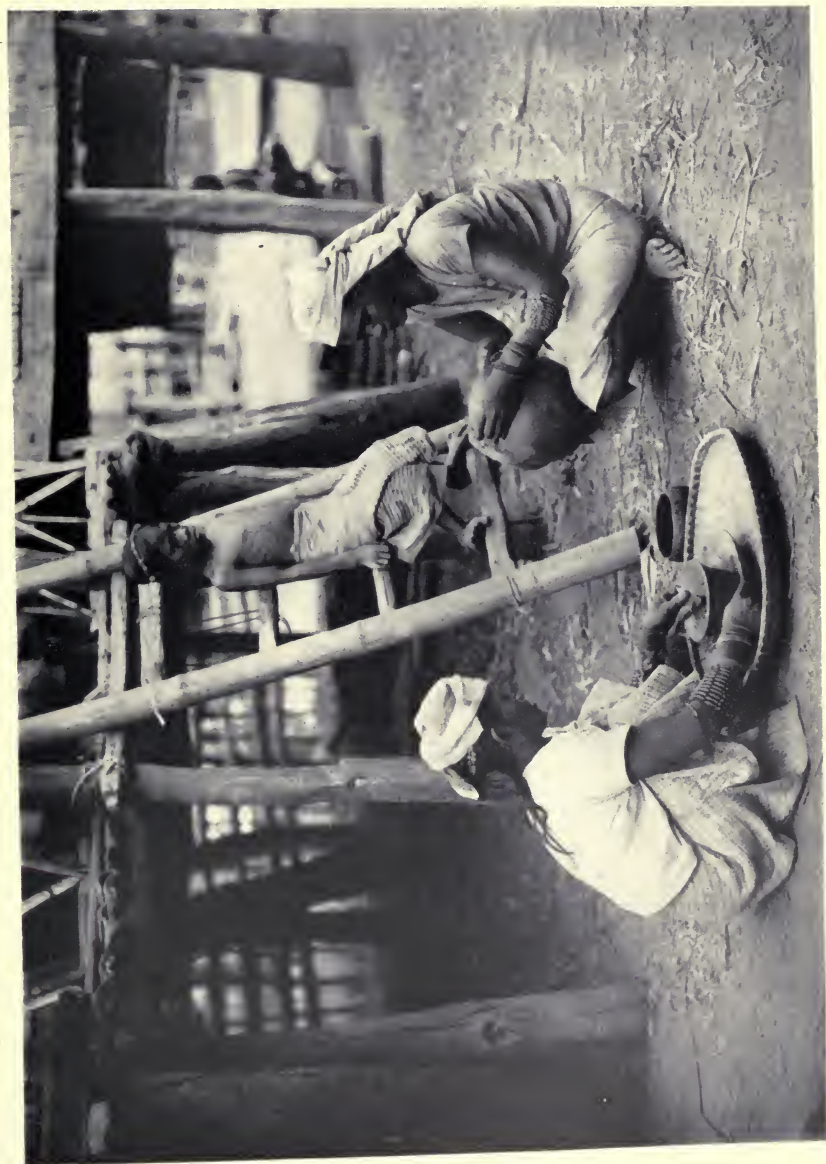
1 2 3a 3b
EARTHENWARE AND PORCELAIN DISHES EMPLOYED BY THE MEDIUMS WHEN SUMMONING SPIRITS.



MEDIUMS SUMMONING THE SPIRITS.



MEDIUMS DIRECTING A CEREMONY.



TINGUIAN POTTERS.



TINGUIAN POTTERY VENDERS.





IGOROT POTTERY MAKERS.

CALIFORNIA COLLEGE
IN CHINA

7



